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**Exploring Curriculum Policy Implementation Through The
Relationship Between Policy and Practice: Case Studies of Modern
Languages in Primary Schools in Scotland and Shanghai**

By Ziyou Wang

BA MSc

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Philosophy (PhD)

School of Education
College of Social Science
University of Glasgow

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Abstract

In the world of educational policy, there are often gaps between the promises inherent in the policy rhetoric and how policy emerges in practice. This study explored the relationship between policy initiatives and practices in the policy implementation process. As teachers are key to the enactment of policy, this study explored the relationship between policy and practice through the lens of teachers' beliefs about education policy. Modern Languages is a key policy for schools and governments internationally; it is also one of the most challenging policies, especially in traditionally monolingual countries or regions like Shanghai and Scotland.

In Modern Languages education, there is a widely held view that early Modern Language learning will offer children the best start in life, will contribute to wider success in education and will offer better future life chances. This study explored these assumptions by examining the implementation of Modern Languages policy through the eyes of policy makers and practitioners involved in the teaching of Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai. The study included 9 practitioners from four Case Study Schools and 3 policy makers from the two research sites. Using a qualitative research methodology, the study explored the relationship between policy makers aspirations and teachers' practices in Modern Languages.

The findings of this study revealed that in both research sites, despite the distinctive differences between Scottish and Shanghai's educational systems, there were many common themes. In both locations, there was a need to enhance communication between policy makers and practitioners; in addition, there was a need for greater Modern Languages proficiency requirements for teachers. The findings challenged the assumption that the earlier children begin to learn a Modern Language, the better their language accomplishment. However, there was an indication that earlier Modern Languages learning had advantages beyond linguistic proficiency. These wider cognitive, cultural, societal and literacy benefits emerging from Modern Languages learning, need to become more influential in shaping expectations of the benefits of Modern Languages learning and should become a more central part of the primary languages curriculum.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this Dissertation is the result of my own work. This work has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature _____ Printed name _____

Chapter One: Exploring teachers' perception and practices in curriculum policy implementation: case studies of Modern Languages education in Scotland and Shanghai

1.1 Introduction

In the world of educational policy, governments often conduct new reforms to education as part of their manifesto, because education is often regarded as one of the most important aspects of government governance (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 2017). But the new reforms initiated by governments frequently do not achieve their aims. Too often they seem simply to be a *repackaging* and *reintroducing* of ideas that have been promoted several times before but without sufficient success. Previous studies have indicated to us that there are often gaps between the promises inherent in the policy rhetoric and actual use in practice. Therefore, it is important to explore the relationship between policy initiatives and practice in the policy implementation processes. This study will focus on the teachers' beliefs about policy, as teachers are believed the key to fulfil policy expectations. In this introductory chapter, I will initially provide the justification for the focus of this study on Modern Languages education, will explain the emphasis on teachers' perception for this study. The rationale for the early year Modern Languages orientation of this study will then be discussed and the reasons behind the selection of the two research sites in this study, Finally, this Chapter will provide an overview of the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Interests in Modern Languages education

Firstly, my interest in investigating Modern Languages education policy making and implementation as the focus for this study is primarily stimulated by my own learning journey, studying English Language for more than 10-years and Japanese for three years. During school years, I realised that successful second language learning needs not only learners' years of hard work and the high professionalism of the teachers who teach the language, but also the target language environment where the language is used. My interest in Modern Languages deepened after I achieved my Masters degree in TESOL in Scotland. This was a milestone period when I put

years of English Language study into practice. This was also a milestone moment where my interest in Modern Languages changed from learning a Modern Language to teaching a Modern Language. Reflecting on my own language learning journey, I developed a particular interest in the exploration of the essence of Modern Languages in schools' curricula and teachers' teaching of Modern Languages in schools.

Secondly, the phenomenon of globalisation, which intensifies the world's social interactions in many fields (Kramsch, 2014), extends the significance of Modern Languages education. Language learning is now not only concerned with the mastery of an additional language, but also, at least in the minds of policy makers, as a source of profit in globalised economy. Heller and Duchêne (2012, p. 2) refer to the skill of Modern Languages as an 'added value' to an individual, enabling them to reach more consumers in a globalised business world. Likewise, there is a history of policy and political interest in the study of Modern Languages. Evidence from Chiesa, Scott and Hinton (2012) indicate that Modern Languages skills are not only a means of communication, but more importantly play a key role in promoting global understanding and respecting cultural differences. The influence of this kind of thinking can be found in countries internationally.

The two countries involved in this study are the two countries in which my own learning journey has been situated, China (particularly Shanghai) and Scotland. Modern Languages is an area of the curriculum of particular interest to both countries. Chinese policy strongly advocates the importance of Modern Languages education to its young people, including English, Russian, and Japanese (Chinese Government, 2016). Amongst these languages, English is the most commonly selected Modern Foreign Language taught in schools. This is the case especially in Shanghai, where English is perceived as the only necessary second language in the curriculum of state-funded schools. This may be due to the popular culture that is associated with the English Language (Coniam, 2014), and the fact that English has become a compulsory subject within many high-stake examinations in China (Pan, 2015). In similar vein, the Scottish government also demonstrates a strong commitment to the promotion of the learning of Modern Languages as part of policy to encourage that Scots to become well equipped citizens of a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, globalised world (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a). In 2012, the Scottish Government announced a manifesto commitment to implement a model for language learning based on the

European Union *1+2 model* — mother tongue, plus two foreign languages, for the whole of its school age population (Scottish Government, 2012a)

In addition to this, from my point of view, Modern Languages is the most challenging and vital part of the curriculum for schools and governments internationally, especially in traditionally monolingual countries or regions. Children are growing up in a globalised world. The ability to communicate effectively in social, academic and commercial settings is crucial to their future roles as a part of a multilingual, global society. An educated citizen for the 21st century must learn to value other cultures, and language learning is an essential part of that; a globalised world has to mean more than international business, important though that is. Countries with monolingual environments might find it particularly challenging to encourage children to learn a Second Language. The increasing phenomenon of globalisation has been accompanied by the emergence of the English Language as the language of business. Thus, it may be increasingly difficult to promote Modern Languages learning in English-speaking countries. For example, in Scotland, *the English is sufficient* myth may present a particular challenge. For these reasons, I have sought in this study to explore the reasons behind Modern Languages learning and the expectations of Modern Languages education in Scotland and Shanghai respectively.

1.3 Focus on teachers' beliefs

It is said that no language policies can be properly understood as independent documents or practices (Ball, 2017). Policy documentation has to be linked to policy implementation and that requires attention to be paid to specific contexts, and to the participants, who actually utilise the curriculum in schools or classrooms, within their individual and collective contexts. Policy makers and practitioners cannot be seen separately if policy reforms are to be implemented in classroom practice (Spillane, 1999, p. 144). Practitioners do not confront policy texts as naive readers, they come with histories, with experiences, with values and purposes of their own; they have vested interests in the meanings of policy. Policies may be interpreted differently by practitioners with various histories, experiences, values, purposes and interests. All of these features have a role to play in the extent of the alignment between policy documentation and the success of policy implementation (Hayward, 2015).

Previous studies indicate that unsuccessful educational policy implementation can commonly be related to insufficient attention being paid to factors related to teachers, e.g., in terms of teachers' professionalism or knowledge of the rationale for or the intentions of the policy (Meijer, Verloop & Beijaard, 2001). These understandings have led to an emerging consensus that teachers must be placed at the central of policy-implementing process as they have the direct influence to the students' outcomes (OECD 2005; OECD 2013).

The teachers' roles are complex. Teachers face classes for several hours each day, every day, coping with the multifarious challenges that children bring. They spend many hours every week preparing lessons, providing feedback to support children's learning and meeting a host of increasing bureaucratic demands. OECD (2017) report that Scottish teachers have a relatively high workload compared with many of the counterparts in other countries. Much of the increased workload of teachers primarily results from, as noted earlier, administrative tasks and preparation of lesson plans. Yet, in the area of Modern Languages, comparatively little work has been done to explore the enactment of policy through the eyes of the teacher. Hence, acknowledging the central role of the teacher, this study will focus on teachers' beliefs about educational policy, in terms of their understandings of the policy and the issues they encounter as they engage in the process of policy implementation.

1.4 Interests in the early years

As identified in *Section 1.2*, the English subject has been part of my school curriculum since Primary 4 (Age 8). During my school years, I have witnessed a curious phenomenon; most of my classmates reach what might be described as '*Mute English*' — where they are able to take English Language paper exams, but not to speak the language (Liao & Wolff, 2010, p. 23). This is not an issue for my classmates alone; the poor English Language performance amongst young Chinese is always an area that attracts significant criticism in the educational arena in China (Zhang, 2012). In response to this concern, a popular myth has spread through the Chinese public. If China is to 'fix' this problem, it has to pay attention to the *Critical Period Hypothesis*—the earlier the better for children to begin to learn English. There is a widely held view that early English Language learning will offer children the best start in life and make them ready to succeed in education. The

view is also held that young children are more talented in second language learning than adults, especially in mimicking accents (Harmer, 2015). There is a strong argument that young children learn a second language in a way that shows some similarities to adult learners but that there are significant differences (Pinter, 2011). Children, it is suggested, copy and mimic another language naturally and instinctively, which is different to the way adults learn language – – mostly studying language rules (Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Harmer, 2015).

If a national or public ideology supports the idea of early primary school learners as potentially more effective language learners, then early years Modern Languages exposure is likely to emerge as an important part of Modern Languages policy; as a means of helping children to build knowledge, confidence and experience in the language at a point when it is easier for them to do so. The importance of early foreign language learning had become an issue for many countries internationally (Gutiérrez, Zepeda & Castro, 2010; Hickey & de Mejía, 2014). Thus many nations have strongly encouraged young students to learn a second language.

In Non-English speaking countries like China, another factor has been influential in the rise of the popularity of the English Language, which relates to increased concerns arising from the phenomenon of globalisation. The growth in the number of early primary years second language (particularly English) learners remains high in China, and in Shanghai in particular. According to a recent survey in *Shanghai Early-years Education Report (Age 0-6)* (Shanghai Quality Association, 2017) 41.6% Shanghai children today are exposed to English from kindergarten or private educational institutions around age 4-6 or even earlier. In line with this, the introduction of English language learning is compulsory in China when children are 8 years old (Primary 3); some regions have mandated children's English language learning age from age 6 (MoE, 2012). English Language learning is seen as so important that in the recent decades many schools have been competing to lower the starting age to Primary 1 (Age 6) for early English Language learning attracts high levels of enrolment in schools (Pan, 2015).

There have been similar developments in Scotland. The advent of what is described as the *1+2 Approach* (Scottish Government, 2012a) indicates a clear national policy commitment in Scotland to languages learning. The very ambitious *1+2 Approach* sets a clear expectation that by 2021 all

children in Scotland will be on a journey towards becoming proficient in at least one foreign language, with most able to communicate competently in another. This policy also argues that the early years of primary school are at a better age to start learning Modern Languages.

The common aspirations articulated in the policies of both Scotland and China (Shanghai in particular) and their shared belief in the importance of the earlier years of primary education for Modern Languages education provoked my interest and formed the basis for my investigation of primary Modern Languages education.

1.5 The choice of two research sites

Firstly, the decision to base the two research sites in this study is stimulated by my own learning journey; my current study and living location—Scotland and my own original background—Shanghai. Drawing from my previous experience and engagement in these two locations, I recognise profound difference between the two educational systems in Scotland and Shanghai, yet I also became conscious of significant similarities across both research sites.

Perhaps the most significant difference that I am conscious of is in Shanghai the education system seeks to bring every child to a standard through different levels of support, while Scottish Education matches the curriculum to the needs and current abilities of the child. There are, however, other differences. In Shanghai, the classroom is focussed more on the teacher and is knowledge-centred (OECD, 2010), while in Scottish classrooms, the children's needs and interests take precedence (Gatherer, 2018). Each teacher in Shanghai primary schools teaches one mainstream subject, sometimes they may also teach an additional less mainstream subject such as *Living Skills*. Each teacher in a Scottish primary school teaches a holistic range of curricular areas including literacy, numeracy, humanities, expressive arts and religious and moral education; Shanghai teachers teach with uniform textbooks and design lesson plans together with their teacher colleagues, while Scottish teachers make decisions about teaching content and pedagogies within the context of whole school policy.

Shanghai and Scotland share certain further characteristics. Both Scotland and Shanghai develop their own educational policies independently from central government (China and the United

Kingdom respectively). They are both proud of their independent educational systems. Shanghai's 15-year old students (or, rather, a supposed representative group) were ranked No.1 in PISA reading, math and science assessments, first in 2009 then 2012. Scottish students' level of academic achievement of science and reading are above international averages (OECD, 2015). Both locations regard education as important and agree about the significance of education to civil society. There are also similarities in the context for Modern Languages education for both Shanghai and Scotland are primarily monolingual yet both exhibit positive attitudes towards cultural and language diversity (Shanghai Government, 2001; 2004; Scottish Government, 2012b). One final similarity is that, somewhat disappointingly, the current Modern Languages education in both research sites is not perceived to have led to the desired policy aspirations (Shanghai Government, 2004; Pan, 2015; HMIe, 2007; Scott, 2015).

English is currently the dominant language in this globalised world, especially in the globalised business world. Thus, the motivation for Modern Languages education in the Anglophone world may not be the same as the motivation for Non-Anglophones where English is their first Modern Languages choice. In this regard, the exploration of Modern Languages implementation in an English speaking country may offer different insights into the motivation for Modern Languages learning. These comparisons may help us to construct a deeper understanding of issues emerging in Modern Languages implementation in schools in different contexts, i.e., that of a Non-English first language country and an English first language country.

The similarities and differences in Shanghai's and Scottish Education systems make these two locations of particular interest as suitable research locations to undertake this inquiry. Before outlining the structure of thesis, I present the research objectives derived from the above discussion in the next section.

1.6 Research objectives

Six research objectives emerge from the above discussion and these form the framework for this study. They are:

- a. To develop a deep understanding of the differences and similarities of the education systems of Scotland and Shanghai.
- b. To explore differences and similarities in Modern Languages teaching pedagogies in Scottish and Shanghai classrooms.
- c. To investigate teachers' roles and influence in the policy implementation in Scotland and Shanghai.
- d. To deepen our understandings of the rationale for the early development of Modern Languages in Shanghai and Scotland as largely monolingual environments.
- e. To investigate the expectations for Modern Languages learning in state-funded primary schools in Shanghai and Scotland.
- f. To seek to understand key issues and constraints affecting Modern Languages implementation in both research sites.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

In this chapter, I have introduced the setting for the study and the research objectives. In Chapter Two, I will begin by defining key terms including the definition of *Early Years*, *Multi-culture / Inter-culture*, *Modern Languages* and *teacher beliefs* adopted in this study. The chapter will then review the literature to inform key aspects of this investigation, including the study of Modern Languages in primary schools, debates related to starting ages for Modern Languages learning, the impact of globalisation to Modern Languages study, and the background and challenges of Modern Languages in the two research locations, and Modern Languages pedagogy. In Chapter Three, I will discuss the theoretical basis for this study about the nature of Modern Languages policy in two research sites, exploring key concepts of *Governance*, *Evidence-informed policy*, and developing *Modern Languages power framework*. In Chapter Four, I will present the research methodology and discuss the methodological choices made, explaining the appropriateness of the

selected research methods/tools for the present study. I will also provide detailed information on instrument design, the selection of participants, data collection process, and data analysis methods, including classroom observation and interview analysis.

I will present the findings and discussion of the field work in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight. Chapter Five presents the findings related to *Policy Initiative Phase* of the research design of this study, i.e., the policy makers' response to the rationale for including Modern Languages in primary education; and responses exploring policies for the implementation of Modern Languages particularly regarding teachers' professional development. Chapter Six and Chapter Seven present the findings about the *Policy Implementation Phase* of the research design of this study. In Chapter Six, the findings explore teachers' responses to the inclusion of Modern Languages in primary education and to their professional development. In Chapter Seven, data from observations of primary classrooms will be presented to investigate similarities and differences in approaches to the teaching of Modern Languages teaching in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai. Finally, in Chapter Eight, I will discuss and summarise the findings of this thesis and present recommendations arising from the investigation. This chapter will identify limitations of the research project and identify further areas for research emerging from this study.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

Chapter One presented the rationale behind the decision to conduct this research that seeks to develop a deeper understanding of teachers' perceptions of educational policy implementation in second language learning and, in particular, asks questions about the trend towards introducing Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and in my own locational background, Shanghai. In this chapter, I will begin to investigate these themes. First, the chapter will review key terminology and justify the way in which certain terms are conceived and used in this investigation. Then studies of Modern Languages in primary schools will be reviewed and the debates about the most appropriate age to begin learning a Modern Language will be explored. After providing a background introduction to Modern Languages teaching and learning in two research sites and to issues and constraints of Modern Languages education, the chapter will end by resting the focus on literature about the Modern Languages pedagogies.

2.2 Conceptions of key terminology in this study

Before reviewing the previous studies on the main themes of this investigation, I will first review some of the terminology used in this study: early years, multi-cultural / inter-cultural, Modern Languages, and teacher beliefs. I will define these terms as they are used in this study.

2.2.1 The concept of Early Years as used in this study

In the field of early years' research, researchers often define different stages of age range in order to understand the process of children's development. In Piaget's (1976) hugely influential *Theory of Children's Cognitive Development*, the early years are set between birth and 7. This is an age

range consisting of the *Sensorimotor Period* and *Preoperational Period*¹ in his theory. In this period, the roles of adults as supervisors and guides are critical to children's development. In Laurence Kohlberg's (1981) Three Stages Theory² on individuals' moral development (strongly influenced by Piaget), the early years cover the age span approximately from birth to 9 years old. Kohlberg (1981) believed that this is a period when children develop their sense of morality through the adults with whom they interact and the consequences they experience from following or breaking rules.

In the field of Second Languages Learning, as has been noted above, there is a popular belief that the younger, the better, and the quicker, the language learning process and performance. In particular, Lenneberg's (1967) *Critical Period Hypothesis* for languages learning still commands the support of many Second Language learners. The *Critical Period Hypothesis* claims that age 4 to 12 is an early and optimal period for language acquisition.

In statutory documents, the definitions of early years are different in different countries. The Chinese Government defines the early years from 3 to 6 years old (Chinese Government, 2016). The Scottish Government defines the early years from pre-birth to 8 years old (Scottish Government, 2009), while England defines the counterpart as from birth to 5 years old (UK Government, 2013).

For the purpose of this study, which aims to look at the Modern Languages policy in primary education in Scotland and Shanghai, I generally follow Lenneberg in defining *Early Years* for second language learning as from 4 to 12 years old, but in recognition of the definitions used in Scotland I acknowledge a compromise position of 5-9. This age range overlaps the fields of

¹ Sensorimotor Period (Age 0-2): children experience through senses and action; Preoperational Period (Age 2-7): children start to representing things with words and images; Concrete Operational Period (Age 7-11): children begin to have logical thinking about concrete events and grasping concrete analogies; Formal Operational Period (Age 11 beyond): where children can understand about hypothetical sceneries and processing abstract thought

² Preconventional level (Age 0-9), where a child's sense of morality is mostly controlled by adults; Conventional (Age 9-20), where one's sense of morality is tied to personal and societal relationships; Postconventional (Age 20 beyond), where one's individual personal authority emerges, in which he / she makes choices and judgments based on self-chosen principles.

definition of ‘early years’ in the field of early years’ research, the definition used in Second Languages Learning, and that used in the statutory standards at the two research sites.

2.2.2 The concepts of Multi-culturalism and Inter-culturalism as used in this study

In past decades, the growth of immigration flows has led to a growth in both inter-cultural and multi-cultural studies (Grant & Portera, 2011). Across contemporary education, multi-cultural and inter-cultural ideas are deemed critical and necessary to be integrated into every child’s curriculum. This entails a corresponding embrace of an education that is anti-racist and anti-discrimination, an education for social justice, as well as an affirmation of ethnic, racial, cultural, and gender pluralism (Banks, 2002; Nieto 2004; Howard, 2010). It ought to be said that in much multi-cultural and inter-cultural literature (especially policy literature and knowledge exchange), there is little difference drawn between the underpinning concepts of the two terminologies. In the educational area, especially, multi-cultural and inter-cultural education are often understood as if they were interchangeable concepts referring to a single type or philosophy of education (Nieto, 2006; Hill, 2007).

However, other scholars such as Bouchard (2011) and Cantle (2012) argue vigorously that there are key differences difference between the two. Multi-culturalism, in its broadest sense, aims to value tolerance and celebrate cultural differences. Thus, in certain social settings, multi-culturalism claims that all cultures can co-exist in a community with equal status (Palaiologou and Dietz 2012). Multi-culturalism recognises sincerely, it has been claimed, the diversity of cultures and manners and traditions—and respects them for what they are. However, this stance has been criticised on two grounds: first that it fails to recognise, interpret or manage cultural change, tending to trap cultures in particular moments and configurations. Thus, it is claimed, it leaves untouched questionable hierarchies, inequalities or even infractions of justice embedded in so-called ‘traditional’ cultures. Classical multi-culturalism, also, has to face the concern that it does not adequately address such issues as power differentials amongst and across cultural groups. Further, conservative forms of multiculturalism are often seen as desensitised to social change, cultural mixing, hybridity and other signs of modernisation (Webner, 2012).

Inter-culturalism, by contrast, actively affirms and encourages those cultural exchanges and interactions destined to occur in genuinely plural societies. It stresses the dynamics of cultures and the resultant relations between different cultural groups (Grant & Portera, 2011). Inter-culturalism aims also to address directly some of the key ethical questions that accompany cultural diversity. For example, in countries like the USA, inter-cultural education actively helps immigrants to enhance their self-esteem and reduce their uncertainties and apprehensions towards the existing or indigenous local communities (ibid). More than this, inter-culturalism confronts directly in a society such as the US the grievous racial and cultural power imbalances causing social disadvantage and aims to engage people politically in embracing different cultures, encountering other ways of life and deliberating sometimes divergent values—all against the backdrop of the pursuit of social justice and enhanced equality. Hence, by seeing culture as actively and invigoratingly *produced* by communities rather than merely inherited, absorbed or curated by them, inter-culturalism and intercultural education seek to create new grounds for the fashioning of real-life relationships and layered identities.

In the fields of both multi-cultural and inter-cultural education, favoured teaching approaches and purposes may in consequence vary. UNESCO (2006, p. 18) explains that,

‘Multicultural education uses learning about other cultures in order to produce acceptance, or at least tolerance, of these cultures. Intercultural education aims to go beyond passive coexistence, to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of an understanding of, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups’.

Accordingly, the following figure is often accepted as illustrating the two discourses and their contrasts (Simon, 2014):

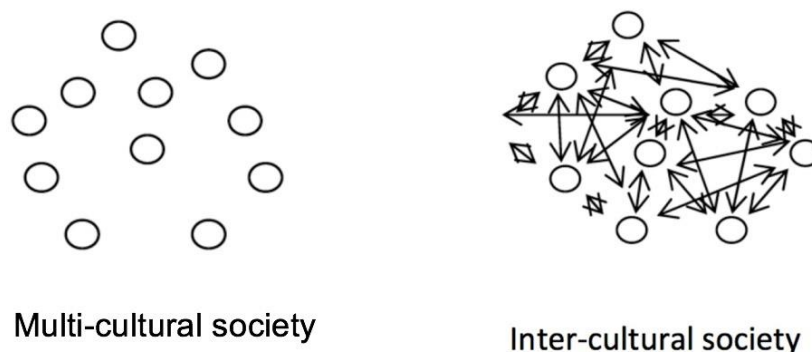


Figure 1: the difference between Multi-cultural society and Inter-cultural society Adapted from Simon, N, 2014

In the present research study, the two research sites, Shanghai and Scotland, are multi-ethnic but mainly monolingual dominated regions. Both the Shanghai and Scottish Governments strive to present themselves with an open gaze to the global world, especially the global market (Shanghai Government, 2004; Scottish Government, 2012a). Multi-cultural and inter-cultural education in this study can therefore definitely be seen to be subject to globalising and neoliberal imperatives: a trait well recognised, and often sharply criticised, in contemporary educational theory (Giroux, 2002; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Ball, 2012b). Namely, in essence in the specific social and political context in this study, multi-culturalism and inter-culturalism converge on the same basic ideological investments and aspirations, which are to foster communication, exchange, understanding and respect for populations from different ethnic, cultural, religious and national backgrounds around the world, on the common understanding of their pursuit of peaceful coexistence and prosperity.

2.2.3 The concept of Modern Languages as used in this study

In the field of Modern Languages, there are two other terms that are often seen as synonymous with 'Modern Languages'. They are 'Second Language' and 'Foreign Language'. Some scholars tend to ignore the difference between the terms Second Language, Foreign Language and Modern Languages but rather use them as synonymous terms, utilizing them alternatively in their studies (Williams, 1991; Pinter, 2011; Webb & Chang, 2012).

However, other scholars make a distinction between the terms Second Language and Foreign Language (Saville-Troike, 2012, Lambelet & Berthele, 2015). The key differences can be summarised as follows:

- Second Language(s): this term often refers to an official or societally dominant language, which may be required in education or employment and may have to be learned by minority groups of people or immigrants. Second language as an additional language could be the third, or fourth language acquired by an individual.
- Foreign language(s): these are language(s) that are commonly learned in a non-native speaking region, and used in a cross-cultural communication environment, or studied as an elective course in schools, rather than in the immediate social context.

In addition to this, Seedhouse and Egbert's (2006) study raised the phenomenon that many non-English native learners learned English as a Foreign Language in classrooms from the beginning, but the test they take to allow them to participate in university education examines how well they use English as a Second Language.

Other researchers argue that it could be difficult to establish a clear definition of whether people are learning Foreign or Second Languages, because with the global flow of people, sometimes a Second Language can be the language children learn first. (Brown, 2003; Young, 2008). Likewise, Ross and Kasper (2013) also blur the boundaries of these terms for language learning. What might have begun as the learning of a Foreign Language may become learning a Second Language when the learner uses the language in the target language environment.

The term Modern Languages is more difficult to define precisely. According to the Online Cambridge Dictionary (2018), the term Modern Languages is defined as language that is commonly spoken at the present time. This definition narrows down the scope of languages to those currently in popular use, yet it does not clarify whether these modern languages are speakers' first or second language.

It is the term Modern Languages that will be adopted in conducting this study. In the UK context, ‘Modern Languages’ is a long-established term, predating recent trends in both globalisation and the learning of second or other languages. In UK schools, it for the most part referred from the post-War period onwards to the languages spoken by the country’s European neighbours and trading partners—especially France, Spain, Germany and Italy. These languages (with French paramount) were taught to young people in the first two years of Secondary School, with a minority of pupils who had demonstrated an aptitude for them encouraged to pursue one or two of them to the higher levels of formal school qualification (and perhaps then on to university level). According to the Scottish Government (2012b) today, however, Modern Languages in the Scottish context can now include French, German, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, Portuguese (Brazil), Arabic and Russian. In Shanghai, Modern Languages could include English, Japanese and Russian (Chinese Government, 2016).

2.2.4 The concept of Teacher Beliefs as used in this study

In addition to the above terms, it is also important to define the term ‘teachers’ beliefs’, as it is the *teacher* that this investigation focuses on as key to understanding the implementation of Modern Languages policy. Many scholars (Torenvlied and Akkerman 2004; Fullan 2007; Pan 2015) argue that while national education policy influences teachers' work, there are hidden contextual micro decision-making processes and dynamics which have been ignored. These hidden dimensions involve teachers' experiences and resistance to policy, which may impact on the ways in which the educational policy is (or is not) implemented at school and classroom levels.

Teachers do not encounter policy as empty vessels or naïve readers. Teachers are the key to the success of policy implementation. They interpret policy and translate it into practice based on their own backgrounds and contexts. The inevitability of the teacher acting as a mediator of policy is well documented (Osborn et al. 1997; Cuban 1998; Elmore 2004, Harmer, 2015; Gatherer, 2018). In this sense, educational research for many decades has sought to explore how teachers’ beliefs affect the process of educational policy implementation.

Studies that examined the relationships between teachers' perceptions and teaching practices in a holistic way first emerged in the late 1960s when there was an increasing recognition of the fact that teachers played a central role in shaping educational processes that time (Schreiber, 1967). There followed a growing emphasis on teachers' perceptions and the impact of their perceptions on teaching practice, e.g. management and decision making. etc. (Calderhead, 1996; Borg, 1999; 2006; 2011; Borg 2005; Rubie-Davies, 2010). Teachers were no longer seen simply as mechanical implementers but as thoughtful professionals. There are several synonymous terms used to describe the concept of teacher cognition as an influential factor in curriculum enactment, such as *preconceptions* raised by Clark and Peterson (1986) or *teaching ideology* used by Sharp and Green (1971).

Within the teacher belief literature, many scholars have attempted to explain the term 'belief' (Pajares, 1992; Murphy, 2000), but have found it difficult provide a universal definition for it. Zheng (2015) explained that this inconsistency might be due to the confusion of the difference between beliefs and knowledge, the different contexts of researchers and studies, and the 'lack of concrete observable results' of this term (p,15).

Some scholars regard *knowledge* and *belief* as two synonymous and interchangeable items (Pajares, 1992; Calderhead, 1996; Murphy, 2000). These scholars suggest that these two terms are different in form but essentially describe the same thing, which both can refer to individual personal knowledge (Clark & Peterson, 1986; Kagan, 1992).

However, many empirical studies of teacher beliefs report that, when teachers refer to their knowledge or their beliefs in teaching practice, it is impossible to distinguish what they mean by each term (Zheng, 2015). Both knowledge and belief influence teachers' cognitive processes dramatically, in aspects of teachers' memories, understanding of policy and problem solving (Pintrich, 1990; Charalambous, 2015). Borg (2006) indicated that the reason for less fruitful results in studies intended to clarify the concept of teacher knowledge and belief is that many teachers themselves make no distinction between these constructs in their minds.

Despite these diversities in understanding the concept of belief, and the confusion about its distinction from knowledge, some researchers have reached agreement on some core characters of beliefs (Fang, 1996; Woolfolk, Davis & Pape 2006). They conclude that belief is a psychological

process with connected substructures, with unexplainable intertwined connections with knowledge, unlikely to change in adulthood and influenced largely by personal experiences. Likewise, Borg (2006, p. 40) summarized numerous features of the essence of teacher cognition as ‘personal, practical, tacit, systematic and dynamic’.

Building from the evidence above and reflecting on the nature of this study, teacher beliefs will be understood from two perspectives.

Firstly, belief is a personal system which is contextualised and influenced by particular environment and circumstance. As Kagan suggests (1992, p. 74):

A teacher's knowledge of his or her profession is situated in three important ways: in context (it is related to specific groups of students), in content (it is related to particular academic material to be taught), and in person (it is embedded within the teacher's unique belief system).

Secondly, teachers' beliefs in this study are defined as inclusive concepts, including conscious perspectives and unconscious intuitions, personal values, attitudes and ideologies (Meijer, Verloop & Beijaard l. 2001, p. 446). As noted by Green (1971), teachers' belief systems consist of primary beliefs and derivatives, such as beliefs about different subjects, beliefs about policies (Zheng, 2015). These beliefs interact with one another to become a belief system, one that exerts an influence on teachers' practices.

Drawing from the above reviewing of the key terms related to this investigation, we now have insights on these terms and the meaning that these terms represent particularly for this study. It is now appropriate to review previous studies related to the study of Modern Languages in primary schools.

2.3 Previous studies of Modern Languages in primary schools

It is well documented that learning Modern Languages could bring a raft of benefits both intrinsically — cultural, cognitive and educational — and extrinsically — utilitarian and job seeking as a result of globalisation —, or combinations of both. (Dörnyei, 2001; OECD, 2012; Harmer, 2015). The promotion of Modern Languages by governments can be seen as a way to

support linguistic and cultural diversity, because a commitment to Modern Languages can have a vital contribution to make to cultural understanding and economic competitiveness (OECD, 2012). This section will first review previous studies on the goals of teaching Modern Languages in primary schools in particular.

2.3.1 Development of Multi-cultural/Inter-cultural awareness

Firstly, it is widely accepted that language is a social activity. Culture is inextricably intertwined with its language, including in the process of learning a language. Scholars such as Corbett (2003) and Duff and Talmy (2011) argued that languages could be treated as a part of socialisation because they are inseparable from the culture to which the language belongs. This approach echoes that of Kramsch (2014, p. 8) who argues that *‘language is not a culture-free code, distinct from the way people think and behave, but, rather, it plays a major role in the perpetuation of culture’*. From this perspective, learning a language would necessitate familiarising oneself with a culture. Every language offers a rich and unique insight into different ways of thinking, living and culture. Learning a Modern Language, in this context, would engage our children not only in developing a means of communication, but also in entering a key avenue to promoting multi-cultural understanding, and celebrating the world’s cultural heritage (Harmer, 2015).

There is also a view that learning a Modern Language could lead to a perceived change in Modern Language learners’ identities as a result of experiences with other languages and cultures (OECD, 2012). Vice versa, Modern Language learners may resist the target language if they perceive that it could harm their own culture as an aspect of their individual and social identity (Canagarajah, 2005). Corbett (2003) suggests that these perspectives should be balanced and that Modern Languages in primary schools should not aim to adopt the beliefs and cultures of the target languages, but should be in a position to engage children to understand and respect those cultures and beliefs which may be different to their own. In this regard, teaching young children about cultures through Modern Languages should be undertaken in an open-minded and tolerant way and environment in order to nurture an appreciation of multi-cultural perspectives and differences. This would encourage children in primary schools to develop not only awareness of their own cultural values and influences, but also to have an open mind towards, and an interest in, others.

2.3.2 Knowledge about language

While the contribution that Modern Languages makes to young people's intercultural awareness is considered crucial, particularly given the increasing mix-region nature of their classrooms, it could also be argued that Modern Languages in primary school curriculum may also entail contributions to overall literacy development (OECD, 2012). Previous studies (Hood & Tobutt, 2009) indicated to us that teaching Modern Languages in primary schools allows teachers to make links between languages, demonstrating the interconnected nature of certain language families and also to explore differences in sounds, orthography and structure from their native language. In this way, the study of Modern Languages provides opportunities for pupils to develop a meta-language to compare and contrast features of their mother tongue and the language they are learning. Understanding how language works at an early age may improve pupils' capacity to become more articulate in using language effectively (Webb & Chang, 2012). This argument features in the *Scottish Government Languages Working Group Report and Recommendations* (Scottish Government, 2012b, p. 5):

Language learning is life enhancing. It opens the doors to possibilities and experiences which are not available to those who are restricted to the knowledge of one language. Learning an additional language also facilitates a deeper understanding of the possibilities of language and of communication, including those relating to the learner's mother tongue.

However, it is noteworthy that this advantage, that Modern Languages learning would benefit children's mother tongue learning, can only be accrued under certain circumstances, e.g., where professionally trained Modern Languages teachers are educated to teach children (Cook, 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013); where there are classes of a size appropriate for language learning to be effective (Harmer, 2015); where appropriate professional learning and resources are available and where sufficient curriculum time is allocation to Modern Languages (Nunan, 2004; Cook, 2013, Harmer, 2015).

In addition, as will be discussed in a later section (2.3.2), a significant number of research studies (e.g., Silverberg & Samuel, 2004; Sundara & Polka, 2008; Dufour et al., 2014; Samuel & Larraza, 2015) indicate to us that when young learners are introduced to Modern Language learning, learning pronunciation is easier. Learning to pronounce a second language means developing new pronunciation habits and overcoming the bias of the first language (Cook, 1999). Hence it could be true that one might more easily acquire precise pronunciation in early years when the habits of first language acquisition are less firmly established.

Moreover, it is also well documented that learning Modern Languages in primary school can create positive attitudes towards Modern Languages learning amongst children and incentivise later Modern Languages learning (Lightbown & Spada, 2013; DeKeyser, 2012a; 2012b). Many countries (OECD, 2012), including Scotland and China (Shanghai), embed the teaching of Modern Languages to children in their early years in primary schools. The following section will review previous studies on the age factors related to Modern Languages attainment.

2.4 Debates on early years Modern Languages education

The age at which a Modern Language is first introduced to learners plays a major role in decisions about pedagogy to be adopted by teachers. For children of primary school age, we may expect them to acquire Modern Languages through a fun way, while for older learners, we may expect the learning process to be linked to more abstract thought (Harmer, 2015). One of the widely spread beliefs about learning Modern Languages and the age at which children begin to learn a second language is that young children are intrinsically better, more proficient and quicker language learners than older learners. The reason why early language learning has become so popular is that many people, including psycholinguists, policymakers, and practitioners, believe that what is referred to as the *Critical Period Hypothesis* supports this practice. This concept is taken from the work of Lenneberg (1967). *Critical Period Hypothesis* is a term originating in biology which refers to restrictions on the development of a skill or a behaviour. It is suggested that brain plasticity is only conducive to language learning until puberty. Hence, the argument that the earlier the better that children are exposed to Modern Languages.

These beliefs have had a major influence on thinking about Modern Languages learning even though there appears to be little evidence of any direct link to languages learning. Modern Languages policies in both Scotland and Shanghai show evidence of having bought into the belief that beginning to learn a language at an early age is advantageous. National policy in Scotland on teaching Modern Languages, illustrates the Scottish Government's commitment to this belief, e. g., in the *A 1+2 approach to language learning—Framework for primary schools – Guidance for P1*— Education Scotland (2012, p. 2). The authors argue:

Their [children's] motivation and enthusiasm for learning are high, whilst their levels of inhibition are typically lower than at later stages. These factors mean that younger children often find it easier to mimic correct pronunciation and experiment with new words and phrases in an unfamiliar language.

The idea of language learning being easier for younger learners is built into the thinking of more than national policy makers in Scotland. The Languages Working Group established to offer advice to government on languages learning, when commenting on the 1+2 policy, was very positive about the benefits of an early start to language learning:

There is a considerable body of evidence which indicates that young children learn languages more easily than older learners in terms of mental flexibility and the ability to focus on the input they receive

– – – Scottish Government (2012b)

In the same vein, the Shanghai Governmental policy on Modern Languages echoes the views expressed by the Scottish Government. The *Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for English Language* (Shanghai Government, 2004, p. 3) suggests that since children acquire their mother tongue effortlessly, if children are introduced to a Modern Language early enough, the same will happen with the second language:

Children have high motivation in learning English...Many language linguists suggest, before age 10, children acquire second languages in the same way as they acquire their mother tongues (No reference) ...There are many examples about successful bilingual children.

- - - - Shanghai Government (2004)

The power of the idea that earlier is better in Modern Languages learning goes beyond policy. For example, a recent survey of 1288 people in Scotland conducted by the Scottish Government (2016c) demonstrated that 89% of Scottish people think that learning a language other than English in school from the age of five is important. The study showed that most participants (63%) think that the languages most appropriate for children in Scotland to learn are still West European languages. In Shanghai, the One Child policy, a birth control policy which placed a strict one-child restriction on each family, fosters a strong culture among Chinese parents of investing time and money in education for children as early as practically possible (Huang, Lei & Sun, 2015). The Chinese government (2015) has recently announced that China's One Child policy has revised to become a two children policy, but the repercussions and implications of the One Child policy continue today (Xu, 2016). In this regard, not only is the teaching of English Language in the early years received with positive attitudes by the public, but also any early years programmes including, Art, Math, Dance, PE are regarded as important. The recent survey in *Shanghai Early-years Education Report (Age 0-6)* (Shanghai Quality Association, 2017) shows that 73.5% Shanghai children, between age 4-6, have taken those early-years programmes in private educational institutions, and 41.6% of them take the English programme. In line with this, *The China Daily* (2012, April 2), the major national English language newspaper in China, reported bilingual kindergartens have unsurprisingly become the first choice for children from affluent families.

The idea of 'the earlier the better' is prominent in policy and public thinking about Modern Languages learning. It is somewhat surprising that research evidence regarding early Modern Language education which contradicts that idea seems to have been missed or ignored. For there is also a body of previous research evidence (Lightbown & Spada, 2013; DeKeyser, 2012a; 2012b; Muñoz 2006a; 2006b) that would indicate that beliefs such as language learning is easier for younger children or that later language learning is improved by the early introduction of the

language are not always true. Previous research investigations on the relationship of age and Modern Languages learning demonstrate:

- Younger starters are not outperforming older starters in Modern Languages
- Early start Modern Languages may contribute to children's positive attitude gain
- The importance of time and immersion

2.4.1 Younger starters are not outperforming older starters in Modern Languages

In contrast to the prevailing belief of 'the earlier the better' for starting Modern Languages learning, previous studies suggest that younger children are slower at learning a Modern Language than older learner. This is because younger children do not yet have well developed cognitive resources and hence need massive amounts of exposure to the language to compensate for that (Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b; Larson-Hall, 2008; DeKeyser, 2012a; 2012b; Murphy, 2014). It has also been argued that older Modern Languages starters outperform younger Modern Languages starter after the same number of hours of instruction in terms of fluency, vocabulary acquisition, and accuracy (García Mayo & García Lecumberri, 2003; Muñoz, 2006a, 2006b). This is believed to be because older Modern Language starters have developed higher cognitive abilities, giving them an advantage at explicit learning.

A further central argument of the *Critical Age Hypothesis* is also contentious in the literature: the idea that early Modern Languages starters are more likely to achieve native speaker-like pronunciation (Patkowski 1980, DeKeyser and Larson-Hall, 2005). There are a number of advocates of this idea. Some suggest that native-like performance requires acquisition by age 7 (Silverberg & Samuel, 2004; Sundara & Polka, 2008; Dufour, et al., 2014;), some even before age 3 (e.g., Pallier, Colomé, Sebastián-Gallés., 2001; Samuel & Larraza, 2015). However, there is evidence to suggest that some very young second language (L2) learners retain a foreign-sounding accent in their L2 despite native-like fluency in other areas (e.g., Piskea, et al., 2002; Uzal, et. al, 2015), and some late learners actually do sound like native speakers over time (Bongaerts, Mennen, & Slik, 2000; Kinsella & Singleton, 2014; Moyer, 2004; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). In addition, other writers like Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009) and Harmer (2015) suggest that the reason

that older learners may exhibit greater difficulty in acquiring an approximation of native-like pronunciation than younger children may sometimes be a deliberate (or subconscious) behaviour designed to have them retain their linguistic and cultural identities.

2.4.2 Early start Modern Languages may contribute to children's positive attitude gains

Reactions to success and failure in early childhood lay the foundation for the development of motivational beliefs and goals (Wigfield et al., 2006). Children begin to demonstrate the first signs of self-evaluation of their success and failure between the ages of three and four years (OECD, 2012). Nevertheless, during early childhood, children are very optimistic about their abilities. At the same time, however, they do not conceive of performance as determined by skill. It is not until middle childhood that children begin to distinguish between aptitude, effort and performance, and to understand that, together, ability and effort serve as the determinants of outcome (Dweck, 2002; Nicholls & Miller, 1984). Over the school years, competence beliefs for certain tasks decline, as children come to believe that ability can limit the impact of effort, and that the need for extra effort is indicative of a lack of innate competence (Nicholls & Miller, 1984). This, in turn, can have an effect on motivation and interest. Across the lifespan, competence beliefs serve as important predictors of interests (OECD, 2012). Low competence beliefs lead to the devaluing of an activity, which, in turn, leads to the development of apathy or motivation (Wigfield et al., 2006).

It is not suggested that young children cannot acquire Modern Languages with some success. Muñoz (2006a; 2006b; 2008) provides evidence to suggest that the major benefits of early exposure to Modern Languages in primary schools were attitudinal, not linguistic. This is because students are very enthusiastic about the learning of foreign languages. They find it fun and enjoy discovering new worlds and new ways of communicating. However, although younger starters showed more enthusiasm for learning languages, they did not achieve superior mastery of the language compared to those starting later.

In a later study, Munoz (2014) argues that children learning English in formal classrooms still enjoy some advantages as younger learners, e.g., young children have an intuitive grasp of language and have an ability to be more attuned to the phonological system of the new language

compared to adults. Children are sensitive to the sounds and the rhythm of new languages, and they enjoy copying new sounds and patterns of intonation. In addition, younger learners are less anxious and less inhibited, and they worry less than older learners about mistakes or how they come across as non-native speakers.

The previous studies identified do not support a view that there should be no Modern Languages teaching in the primary years, but focus on demonstrating how later starters can gain the same level of language proficiency given the same time and exposure to the language (Harmer, 2015). A significant number of studies into the advantages of learning at a younger age in school environments over the past decade are not unanimous. Larson-Hall (2008), Muñoz and Singleton (2011), Lightbown & Spada (2013) and Muñoz (2014) suggest that starting age is not necessarily associated with superior long-term outcomes in Modern Languages. Comparing those who started learning a Modern Language in primary school years with those who start later in secondary schools, most studies show that the advantages of the early starter tend to disappear with time (Larson-Hall, 2008).

Moyer (2004) argued that the socio-cultural context within which language learning is situated inherently brings to bear multiple influences on the learning process that coincide with age. Specifically, early exposure would predispose children to a greater variety of contact sources (formal and informal, personal and professional domains) as well as being associated with greater consistency and frequency of personal contact. The greater the opportunities to use the L2, the greater confidence and sense of self in the language is built, which ultimately leads to more practice opportunities and increased fluency in the language: a self-generating improvement process.

2.4.3 The importance of time and immersion

Many studies show that the most successful early second language acquisition takes place within a fully bilingual or immersion context, with frequent and extensive exposure to the target language (Cummins 1991; Bialystock, 2008). This improvement is also evident in a partial immersion contexts, where children are taught for part of the time in another language (Johnstone & McKinstry, 2008; Crichton & Templeton, 2010a). Likewise, a study by Kinsella and Singleton

(2014) that examined the effect of multiple factors on older French Language learners highlighted two major elements that contribute to successful French Language learning; their full immersion in French language and the level of the children's engagement with the target language.

However, in both Scotland and Shanghai there are very few examples of immersion contexts. Most young people in both Shanghai and Scottish primary schools, learn in monolingual classrooms where children are exposed a limited repertoire of expressions with limited opportunities for real-life language communication.

In Scotland, Gaelic medium education has been cited as an example of successful second language teaching (Johnstone et al. 1999; O'Hanlon, McLeod & Paterson. 2010). Gaelic medium education follows immersion principles which have been found to be successful in developing native-like second language proficiency (Paradis et al. 2003). However, these contexts are very difficult to generalise to most primary schools, where exposure to the Modern Languages may be restricted at most to an hour per week. However, challenges have also been identified in Gaelic medium education with regard to attracting sufficient numbers of suitably qualified staff and professional development and training (HMIe, 2011).

Likewise, in Shanghai, the *International Bilingual Primary school* offers an example of successful second language education, where students learn both English and Chinese with equal emphasis placed on both languages throughout school (Brummitt & Keeling, 2013). However, these schools are accessible only to the children of expatriate families and to Chinese children who have parents with foreign passports. These are also very different from most primary schools in Shanghai.

The policy implications emerging from this evidence would suggest that either the number of weekly hours of Modern Languages learning needs to be increased considerably, or perhaps expectations for young people in different sets of circumstances adjusted.

However, the arguments for the importance of Modern Languages in education lie not only with children's linguistic proficiency, but also as a means of building multi-cultural awareness. Hence,

the next section of this chapter reviews the previous studies on the position of Modern Languages, as a phenomenon within a global context.

2.5 The influence of Globalisation on Modern Languages policy

The important role that Modern Languages plays in education is often related to the ways in which it offers the potential for interaction with different cultures and countries in this globalised world (Phipps & Fassetta, 2015; Pan, 2015). Governments in both Scotland (Scottish Government, 2012a; 2012b) and Shanghai (Shanghai Government, 2001; 2004) see Modern Languages learning as a crucial part of their response to the relationship between their economies and the international market. The impact of the market place on government decisions about Modern Languages learning is a key theme of this study. Market ideology, which is often associated with neoliberalism, is an ideology that supports the effectiveness of the unplanned but innovative responses of the market, as opposed to what neoliberals would argue is the inefficient and partisan bureaucracy of planned change (Ball, 1998). It is an ambitious idea that breaks down the boundaries amongst academic, political and economic spheres of influence (Ball, 2017).

This ideology is premised on the belief that aggregated individual self-interest will lead to both a strong economy and society (Lingard, 2014). In other words, a market driven economy allows individuals to pursue their own interests more than considering the common good. Lingard (ibid) argues that neoliberalism has influenced the education policy process through its introduction of market considerations, as he evidences that neoliberalism has brought the market into the policy making process. The market becomes more important than government politics.

In addition, it is noteworthy that neoliberalism is often related to globalisation, especially as it relates to ‘freedom of commerce’ (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 313), while globalisation is a much broader phenomenon which accelerates movements of people, goods, capital and ideas across the limits of national borders (Little & Green, 2009). It blurs boundaries, states, cultures and, of course, languages. Thus languages became necessary media to promote this phenomenon through the communication of information and the exchange of resources. It is well documented that Modern Languages education is critical for the flow of human capital and a firm grasp of the language of

a host country is likely to boost immigrants' success in labour markets of the target language country (Chiswick & Miller, 2002, 2007, 2010).

Block and Cameron (2002, p. 1) characterised the relationship between globalisation and language education as: *'Global communication requires not only a shared channel (like the internet or video conferencing) but also a shared linguistic code. For many participants in global exchanges, the relevant code(s) will have been learned rather than natively acquired'*. In many contexts, then, the 'intensification of worldwide social relations' also intensifies the need for members of global networks to develop competence in one or more additional languages, and/or to master new ways of using languages they know already.

In this regard, the following section will focus on previous studies about how globalisation is influencing Modern Languages education policy.

2.5.1 Shifting power relationships

Ball's (2012a) study indicates that globalisation influences have tended emphasise the global and to downplay the importance of the local. Globalisation has changed the international landscape, bringing the spotlight on political relations involving not only national governments but also wider global international organisations such as the World Bank, OECD, International Finance Corporation and World Trade Organisation. Likewise, globalisation can be argued to lead to a 'runaway world', where the influence of nation-states to control their own economies and societies is in decline and increasingly driven by global external influences (Giddens, 1999); The OECD (2010) report draws attention to the vulnerability of certain regions to globalisation. They identify Hong Kong and Singapore, for example, as being particularly vulnerable to global changes such as periodical economic fluctuations and recessions. The design of educational policies in these two states has changed rapidly to respond to the needs of the markets of the emerging globalised world.

In relation to Modern Languages learning, globalisation ensures the popularity of English Language as the lingua franca in countries across the globe and may alter the sense of ownership of this language (Pan, 2015; Bianco, 2014a). Ironically, there is an argument (Scottish Government,

2012b) that English native speakers, like Scots, who have the advantage of having English as their first Language may find this becoming a disadvantage in a globalised multilingual world where young people in countries where English is not their first language are more likely to become bilingual. In addition, globalisation and multilingualism are changing the world economy rapidly and rebalancing power. Economic and political power have been shifting away from the West since the end of the twentieth century (Cox, 2016, Zhang & Li, 2010). It would be possible to infer that these studies offer emerging evidence that the language advantage of English Language native speakers may be on the wane.

2.5.2 Providing an internationally competitive workforce

In the past two decades, Modern Languages education has received increasing attention in many nations, as it raises possibilities of attracting foreign investments, which can be one of the primary engines for national development (Carnoy, 1999; Daun, 2002). Likewise, the foreign language proficiency of employees can result in individual's position in businesses being enhanced (Neeley, 2013; Vaara et al, 2005).

Heller and Duchene's (2012) research indicated that capability in Modern Languages could be treated as a source of profit in an economically globalised world, and postulated that languages are becoming increasingly required for their exchange value, which in the context of an individual learner adds economic and symbolic capital in job hunting. This phenomenon is, to a greater or lesser extent, reflected in Modern Languages curriculums in the two research sites of this study.

2.5.3 Aiming at the future world job market

Pan's (2015) study suggests a connection between English Language education and Chinese economic development by quoting two statistics. The first is that 400 million Chinese people have been lifted out of poverty over the past 30 years. The second is that 400 million Chinese have been taught English in schools in these 30 years. It is by no means clear that there is a connection between English Language education and 400 million people being taken out of poverty. However,

there are studies to show that the revival of the Chinese economy is linked to learning from the West, particularly in the area of science and technology and education (Hu, 2007, OECD, 2010).

There is evidence to suggest that the *Shanghai English Language Curriculum for Primary and Secondary schools* (Shanghai Government, 2004) is paying attention to the relationship between the global market and Modern Language education, as it decrees that English should be compulsory and should be the first Foreign Language in the curriculum. English as a foreign language is becoming the most widely understood language around the world through its use on the internet and in international business (Zhang, 2012). This makes learning English an important language skill for all. The Shanghai Education administration is determined to take young children along what they describe as the Language Highway - English Language - to help them to participate in the global world. Accordingly, most Chinese scholars (Pan, 2015; Rao, 2002; Hu, 2007) associate Modern Languages education with English Language education. In this regard, the state acts as a captain to decide the direction of Chinese young people in the fluid world of the global ocean.

Globalisation has had a profound effect on the economies of countries internationally. One commonly cited disadvantage has been the relocation of industries and reallocating of labour in local communities (O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2001). This has led to a focus on the promotion of exports and governmental drives to encourage inward investment. Such global shifts have brought particular challenges for countries like Scotland, with the de-industrialisation of many parts of the country as industries moved to parts of the world with reduced labour costs. In an increasingly globalised world, the Scottish Government is aware that language learning may be of particular importance. For example, as previously discussed, part of the rationale for 1+2 Approach identified an inability to speak additional languages as one of the major impediments in Britain for developing trading links with other countries (Scottish Government, 2012b).

As identified in Chapter One (section 1.5), Scotland has often led the way in Modern Languages education in UK since 1989. The recent *1+2 Approach* for language policy, again an ambitious initiative for Modern Languages learning, includes elements of neoliberal ideology from its outset,

indicating clearly that students should learn language skills to develop their human capital in an economically globalised world:

Today's children are growing up in a multilingual world and the ability to communicate effectively in social, academic and commercial settings is crucial if they are to play their full part as global citizens.

---Education Scotland (2012)

Education in the era of globalisation focuses on improving individual responsibility and adaptability (Pan, 2015). In relation to Modern Languages education, there is an implication that children need opportunities to be exposed to new cultures and alternative value systems to enable them to adapt to an increasingly globalised world. As Heller and Duchene (2012) argue, economic discourse does not replace older discourses which treat languages as political and cultural capitals; rather, the two are intertwined in complex ways.

Education policy can help frame possibilities for policy targets and increase the likelihood of attention being paid to particular sets of ideas, but it is teacher pedagogies and curricular frameworks that determine the extent to which ideas are likely to be implemented into practice. Citing Ozga and Lingard (2007, p. 67) '*the contrasting logics of practice inherent in processes of education policy production and teacher classroom practices possibly explain what is sometimes referred to as the infidelity to policy in its implementation*'. Therefore, it is important to shift attention in this chapter from the policy making process to policy in practice. The next section will review previous Modern Languages practice in two research sites.

2.6 Background of Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland

Despite the previously discussed evidence suggesting that the relationship between an early start and success in Modern Languages performance is not necessarily positive, there is a history of policy and political support for teaching Modern Languages in primary schools around the world (OECD, 2012). In Scotland, though educational government groups and the media constantly

advocate the learning of Modern Languages, Modern Languages have been a declining subject in Secondary schools; this is well recognised and discussed in Scott's study (2015). He (ibid) indicated two factors for this decline in Modern Languages learning: one is intermittent government action to promote Modern Languages teaching and learning; the other is the lack of provision to sustain Modern Languages teaching in school curriculum. Therefore, it is worth reviewing the history of Modern Languages teaching in primary schools in Scotland, and exploring issues surrounding teachers' provisions to implement the policy into practice.

Education is seen as a vital component of Scottish identity, representing not only a means of personal fulfilment for individuals, but a social value often summed up in the phrase 'the democratic intellect'. This aspiration became a more central theme for Scottish Executives after the introduction of devolution in 1999 (Hayward, 2007, Humes, 2018). However, Scotland has always demonstrated a consistent interest in Modern Languages education, though not always with very positive results. The first attempt to introduce Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland was in the 1960s, but it did not lead to the hoped for success owing to the limited Modern Languages provision in primary schools including a lack of qualified teachers and the language environment (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a).

Modern Languages education in Scotland then experienced change on an unprecedented scale that led to a significant degree of pressure on the system. In 1989, the Scottish government intended to 'to examine the case for beginning the study of a modern European language in primary school' (Tierney and Gallastegi 2005, p. 47). A pilot was carried out with 12 secondary schools and their associated primary schools which was deemed to be successful. The success of this pilot was considered to be related to the high level of collaboration and organising between teachers in the primary and secondary schools (Low et al., 1993; Low et al., 1995).

However, close links between the primary and secondary sectors in these pilot studies proved not to be a realistic strategy when extended across the country. The model involved secondary teachers delivering the language provision to children in primary schools. The quality of communication between one sector and another was inconsistent and varied from an integrated and supportive relationship to one where there was no contact between the sectors at all (Tierney & Gallestegi,

2005). The Scottish strategy then began to focus on primary teachers, believing that it is the primary teachers who are in the best position to integrate the language in daily routines, thus allowing pupils to be exposed to the language throughout the school day.

Nonetheless, owing to the aforementioned apparently successful pilot studies, there has been a revival of Modern Languages education in primary schools since the 1990s. Many Scottish primary schools began to teach Modern Languages, mostly from Primary 6, some beginning earlier (Low, Johnstone, & Conacher, 2003). The Modern Languages most commonly adopted in Scottish primary schools are European languages, with French, German and Spanish dominating. The selection of these languages is based on a combination of economic, geopolitical, cultural and educational factors (Tinsley & Board, 2012)

In 2012, the Scottish Government launched the *1+2 Approach* for Modern Languages (1 mother tongue, and 2 additional languages from age 5). The Scottish Government announced that this policy would be fully implemented in Scottish primary schools by 2021. This policy, was based on the Barcelona agreement (2002), first ratified at the European Council of Barcelona in 2002. With an aim of encouraging mobility and economic progress, this policy is designed to engage the 450 + million European Union (EU) citizens in lifelong learning and develop their skills to communicate with their neighbours, in at least two languages in addition to their mother tongue. Hence, *the 1+2 Approach* by Scottish Government (2012a) aimed to bring Scotland into line with other countries in Europe. Scottish Government (2012b) argued that this policy would develop the skills to allow Scots to develop fully as global citizens and to encourage Scots to take full advantage of opportunities for future study or employment abroad.

However, the English Language is widely accepted as the most useful communicative instrument in the areas such science, economy, policy and education. Even more importantly, it is one of the major languages of the European Union. Given the dominant place of the English Language in the world today, the rationale for embedding Modern Languages in primary schools — to bring Scotland into line with other countries in Europe — may not be enough to convince practitioners that this should be a major policy driver to embed the teaching of a Modern Language in Scottish primary schools. Moreover, previous studies indicated that even whilst young people do recognise

the value of communicating in other languages (Evans & Fisher 2009), they may find their language classroom experiences neither motivating nor challenging enough to develop their skills to become competent users of other languages (Coyle, 2013).

In order to deepen understand the Modern Languages teaching and learning in Scotland, the following sections will review the educational governance in Scotland and how teachers are engaged and supported in the processes of policy making and implementation.

2.6.1 Scottish Educational Governance

Scotland is a nation where economic policy is shared between the UK Westminster Government and the Scottish Government in Holyrood. Education and cultural policies are the legislative and executive responsibility of the Scottish Parliament, which was established in 1999.

The Scottish National Guidance on education is commonly designed and developed by a collaboration of key stakeholders: The Scottish Education Department, representatives from Local Authorities (LAs), from Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), and Non-Departmental Public Bodies, such as Education Scotland (the body responsible for the curriculum in Scotland) and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA – the body responsible for high stakes assessment in Scotland) work in partnership with central government and, theoretically, have equal power and influence in the policy community. The responsibilities for financing and running schools are delegated to the 32 local authorities and (to a limited extent) to schools themselves. (Scottish Government, 2003).

Scottish policy making and development are often claimed to be evidence-informed. This means instead of deriving policy prescriptions from some rigid ideological position, the Government proceeds pragmatically by taking account of data that have a firm basis in research (Humes, 2018). Arnott and Ozga (2016) recently argued that there are tensions between the current Scottish Government's rhetoric, which is social democratic, and its actions, which are perceived to be neo-liberal. In its policy for education, Ozga et al (2013) suggest that the Scottish Government is trying to combine an acceptance of the globalizing imperatives for modernization and economic

competitiveness in education with older ideas of national integrity and equality—and devotes considerable political energy to managing these apparently competing trends. (ibid).

Education is seen as a vital component of Scottish identity. Scottish policy-makers argue that policies are designed to keep making improvements and change. With the strong social and religious emphasis on education, Scottish teachers are entrusted with the critical and central role in the education system. Teaching has always been treated as a worthy occupation, though more recently endowed with less social prestige than in the past (Humes, 2018).

2.6.2 Teachers' support in the implementation of Modern Languages in primary schools

Teachers in Scottish primary schools deliver lessons across all the disciplines of Curriculum for Excellence³ including: expressive arts, health and wellbeing, languages, mathematics, religious and moral education, sciences, social studies and technologies. They work closely with the same group of children through the school year. To be a primary school teacher in Scottish, one must obtain a Teaching Qualification. Candidates should obtain one of the following qualifications:

- 1) A four-year undergraduate programme such as the Bachelor of Education or combined degrees;
- 2) A one-year Professional Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) which is completed after an initial degree;
- 3) A part-time course, usually done in partnership with certain local authorities (General Teaching Council, 2013)

However, none of these qualifications necessarily involves a Modern Languages component. It is little surprise then that many practitioners are perceived to lack depth of understanding in Modern

³ Curriculum for Excellence is designed to achieve a transformation in education in Scotland by providing a coherent, more flexible and enriched curriculum from 3 to 18. (Education Scotland, [Online]. [Accessed in June, 2018]. Available from:

[https://education.gov.scot/scottish-education-system/policy-for-scottish-education/policy-drivers/cfe-\(building-from-the-statement-appendix-incl-btc1-5\)/What%20is%20Curriculum%20for%20Excellence](https://education.gov.scot/scottish-education-system/policy-for-scottish-education/policy-drivers/cfe-(building-from-the-statement-appendix-incl-btc1-5)/What%20is%20Curriculum%20for%20Excellence))

Language learning. Primary teachers in Scotland are generalists. In this regard, it is little wonder that concerns are voiced as to whether the *1+2 Approach* initiative policy is achievable—citing financial, training and confidence issues around teachers (Scottish Parliament, 2013; Tierney, 2011; Barton & Boodhoo, 2009).

Education Authorities have the responsibility for quality in schools including responsibility for the professional learning of teachers within the framework offered by Scotland's General Teaching Council (GTCS). Education Authorities are responsible for the provision of effective career-long professional learning (CLPL) ⁴ for teachers, including *1+2 Approach* specific developments. Teachers and schools are invited to identify their own CLPL needs through annual professional review and development (PRD) discussions and self-evaluation. The Scottish Government (2012b) reported that sufficient funding had been devolved to the 32 Local Authorities to support the *1 + 2 Approach* Policy. Most Education Authorities used funds to appoint Development Officers to work with and provide guidance and support to the primary schools. Government funded organisations such as Education Scotland and the Scottish Centre for Information on Language Teaching (SCILT) were also tasked with supporting the initiative. All these organisations seek to provide support for all the primary teachers tasked with taking the initiative forward.

Despite the various pre-service and in-service teacher training support, Scottish primary school teachers' proficiency in Modern Languages could be a main obstacle that might influence their teaching practice. Franklin's (1990) research with Scottish secondary teachers suggests that teachers' lack of fluency in the taught Modern Language leads them to be reluctant to use the language in the classroom. In the same vein, it appears that building a cadre of suitably qualified Modern Language staff in primary schools is also not seen as a priority by the Scottish Government. Cited from Education Scotland (2012, p. 7) '*primary practitioners do not have to be fluent in the language(s) they teach*'. However, scholars like Tierney (2011) and Barton and Boodhoo (2009)

⁴ Approaches to CLPL may include: local and regional languages CLPL programmes devolved leadership models within schools and clusters ICT-based programmes of learning partnership provided CLPL e.g. through cultural organisations, SCILT, British Council and further and higher education partnerships residential immersion training professional networks and partnerships.

share a concern that it is dangerous to introduce foreign languages to younger learners when teachers themselves are not proficient. They argue that teachers who are restricted in their own Modern Languages skills may risk creating a situation where children's achievements in Modern Languages may be very diverse by the end of primary education.

Moreover, a lack of Modern Languages skills may also undermine teachers' confidence and professionalism (Zamorski and Haydn, 2002). Even worse, it may also lead to what is known as *Teachers' Impostor Syndrome* (Brookfield, 1995) where teachers feel they do not deserve their professional position because of their lack of competence in Modern Languages. In this regard, it is important to explore how Scottish primary school practitioners perceive the influence of their language proficiency on Modern Languages teaching in primary schools.

2.7 Background of English Language in Shanghai primary schools

As discussed previously, there is a history of policy and political support for the study of Modern Languages around the world. China, Shanghai in particular, is one of the major contributors to the population of Modern Languages learners (Pan, 2015). It is well documented that China is a nation that highly values Modern Languages education (Coniam, 2014; Pan, 2015). Modern Languages, particularly the English Language (Japanese Language and Russian Language in some parts of China), are compulsory subjects (and afforded equal emphasis to Maths and Chinese), Languages have been embedded in the Chinese National Curriculum for primary education since 2001 (MoE, 2012). In many primary schools in developed cities like Shanghai, the starting age for language learning is 6 when children enter Primary One (Pan, 2015). According to Wei and Su's (2012) calculations, in 2012 there were more than 400 million English Language learners in China.

English is a fully embedded subject in Chinese schools and is linked to many high-stakes examinations undertaken by young Chinese people. However, Modern Language learning has not always had such a prominent position in the curriculum, nor have the attitudes of the Chinese Government always been so positive to English as a Modern Language (Zajda, 2015). There was a time when a tide of anti-western sentiment swept the country, driven by the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the US-led Western alliance in 1950s. During that period, English was rarely

taught in schools. Instead, owing to the strong alliance with the USSR, Russian became the main foreign language taught in schools, though schools were always allowed to be deliver English (MoE 1950).

English was revived in Chinese schools in the early 1960s. The main reason for this change was, according to Pan (2015), China's weakening alliance with the then Soviet Union and China's intention to pursue stronger ties, especial economic, with the West. Under this ideology, the status of English was boosted, while that of Russian declined. Many Russian Language teachers retrained to teach English — a reversal of the previous trend (Adamson, 2004). English study was soon extended to secondary schools nationwide and became the major foreign language in the curriculum.

From the 1980s until the present day, the Opening-up policy⁵, promoted by leader Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) and applied across the country, introduced an ideology based on the premise that economic wealth is the foundation of state power. China set out to establish what the country believed to be her rightful place in the world accompanied by domestic economic strength. Influenced by this ideology, China then experienced rapid economic growth, and started to actively engage in the trend towards globalisation. In the meantime, given the acceptance of the idea of the practical advantage of the English Language, an idea that has been instilled into almost every Chinese individual, the study of English Language has become a nationwide endeavour pursued at all academic levels, from kindergarten to University. In the past ten years there has been an explosion in the development of public school English programmes and private English language schools throughout China. (Pan, 2015)

This historical account of English Language in the Chinese school curriculum implies that all the previously identified Modern Languages policy shifts or reforms were mostly led by Government hegemonic and bureaucratic power (Pan, 2015, p. 69): *the primary foreign language would either be the language of the state's friend (e.g. Russian was favoured in the period of Sino-Soviet*

⁵ Opening-up policy in China: economically allows free enterprise and capitalist ideas and trade in China which politically remains under control of a single-party system

brotherhood) or the one that was spoken by the foes of the state's enemy (e.g. the promotion of English during the Sino-Soviet schism). This argument does not pay attention to the feasibility of these actions, e.g., teachers' readiness, schools' available resources and the needs of students. The national ideology-driven approach to Modern Languages learning may not be as strong as in 1980s, but it still has an auxiliary influence on the choice of Modern Languages amongst policy makers (OECD, 2010). The selection of English Language as the single and only second language in primary schools by the Shanghai Local Authority is partly attributable to the national ideology, which treats English as a medium for accessing international philosophical, economic, social and political ideas (Shanghai Government, 2004). In this regard, English Language education has been implicated in perpetuating myths about its significance and necessity, and in ensuring that learning English has outstripped learning other languages. The following section will consider other motivations that have resulted in English achieving this dominant place in the primary curriculum in Shanghai.

2.7.1 Issues in English Language Education

Despite the previously discussed high level of enthusiasm that both the Chinese Government and individuals pour into English Language learning, this enthusiasm has not led to high performance amongst Chinese young people in English Language skills. Liao and Wolff's (2010) research showed that Foreign Language education, especially English Language learning, had very low cost-effectiveness. They reported that, after more than 10 years of English language learning, beginning at 7 or 8 years old, most Chinese English Language learners end up with what they described as 'Mute English' (Liao & Wolff, 2010, p. 23). Other scholars (Xu, 2014; He, 2015) echo this conclusion. This phenomenon is attributed to the traditional teacher-centred teaching mode, which overemphasised grammar and vocabulary. In English classes in China, students are taught reading, writing, and listening mainly separately. There are very few opportunities for speaking in classrooms (Zhang, 2009). The reduction of the *Mute English* phenomenon amongst Shanghai English Language learners is an explicit goal targeted by the Shanghai Educational executives (Shanghai Government, 2004).

It is noteworthy that the overwhelming emphasis on English Language learning in Chinese society and educational arena, as discussed above, also brings some worries about the effects of the focus on English. One of these has been a lack of attention to internal Chinese dialects. China is a country that brings together 56 ethnic groups with 80 dialects (Zhou Youguang, 1952). China has risked the extinction of Chinese dialects as a result of decades in which Mandarin has been the dominant language encouraged by the Chinese Government since 2000, as the official inter-ethnic communication tool, in the media, education and the public-service industry. It is reported by the Chinese Official Government that 70% people are Mandarin speakers, and that the proportion will rise to 80% by 2020 (BBC, 2017). Consequently, concerns have been raised that some dialects, such as Manchu dialect, are now endangered due to the dominance of Mandarin. The negative impact of Mandarin on local Chinese dialects suggests that there may be the same impact of English Language on Mandarin in 10 years later as English is set as the compulsory language in Shanghai schools' curriculum.

Other scholars offer alternative interpretations for the support for English Language learning provided by the Government in Shanghai. Wolff (2010) suggests that the focus on English is less concerned with promoting communication, but the government's rationale is to create more direct teaching jobs and indirect publishing and other support jobs. He also suggests that learning English may be seen as something to keep young people busy as they are warehoused awaiting an expanded job market that can accommodate them.

However, the dominant ideology that the development of the young Shanghainese' English skills enables them to become competitive citizens in this globalised world is overwhelming throughout Shanghai political, social and educational sectors. In an attempt to fulfil this expectation, teachers are widely accepted as central to making English teaching in primary schools successful. The following section will review the teachers' roles in implementing the English Language policy in primary schools.

In order to understand the teachers' position in educational policy making and in the implementation process, I will first review educational governance in Shanghai.

2.7.2 Shanghai Educational Governance

China has a centralized governance structure which is led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Shanghai, as a local authority, has a relatively high degree of professional accountability as a reform pioneer in education. Shanghai is, however, still influenced by and compliant with central government education policies. Shanghai, as a metropolitan centre at the forefront of the education system and policies in China is actively engaged with international business led by globalisation, and keen to develop a curriculum consistent with young children's capacities to be competitive in this emerging globalised world (Xu, 2012).

Curriculum design in Shanghai is a top-down hierarchical process involving the participation of the central, municipal, and school levels of decision-making (Liang, Kidwai & Zhang, 2016). The Central Ministry for Education sets out an overall nationwide curriculum. Shanghai Municipal Education Commission then embraces the ideology of the nationwide curriculum and creates a curriculum to suit Shanghai's own development. From there, the implementation sequence is perceived to be ostensibly straightforward: from Shanghai policy to Schools to practitioners (Figure 2).

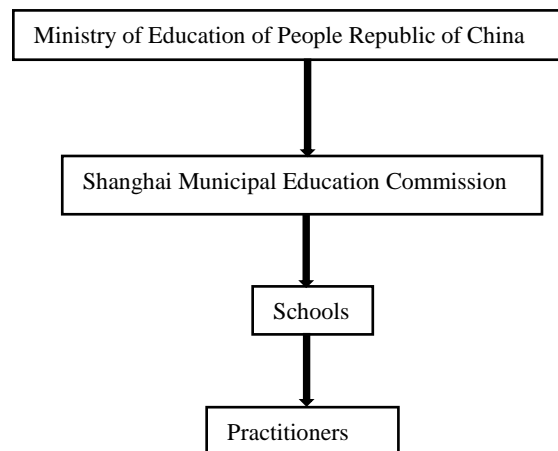


Figure 2: Policy making and implementation process of Shanghai education

Schools in Shanghai are afforded a high degree of autonomy in budget allocations, in designing school-based curriculum and pedagogy, and in hiring teachers based on their individual demands,

although different schools have different levels of autonomy (OECD, 2010). Overall, Shanghai has not faced any critical shortage of teachers in any particular subjects in basic education, partly thanks to the steady stream of teacher entrants from teacher preparation programs and other pathways. The follow section will continue to examine policy implementation, particularly focusing on teachers' roles in the process of policy implementation.

2.7.3 Teachers' support in the implementation of English Language in primary schools

Teaching in Shanghai is an attractive and respected middle-class profession. Working conditions, such as educational facilities and student-to-teacher ratios, are attractive, and there is a clear framework for career advancement. Shanghai requires at least a three-year tertiary education for primary school teachers and a four-year university education for secondary school teachers. In practice, however, the academic requirements are more stringent, and most teachers in Shanghai have at least a bachelor's degree. Teachers complete a one-year probationary period before being formally hired by school districts (Tan, 2013).

Shanghai's innovative teacher education system involves three separate parts: *initial teacher education*, *one-year in-service induction* and *in-service teacher education*. The distinctiveness of Shanghai's teacher education system compared to the other regions of China is that the one-year *induction* programme is compulsory (Shanghai Education Commission, 2013, Order No.56). This programme, which also serves as a probationary period, is composed of 120 hours training including classroom teaching practice, and professional development, including: professional standards and ethics; teaching practice and classroom experience; classroom management and moral education; and teaching research and professional development. This provides novice teachers with a full year to develop their professionalism and to build teaching knowledge into practice before they formally take up teaching as an occupation. Teachers take an evaluation at the end of this one-year induction programme. If new teachers do not meet the various requirements during the one-year probation or fail to pass the evaluations organized by the training centre and the schools, schools are not obliged to formally hire them (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2011).

In Shanghai's primary schools, each teacher is responsible for one mainstream subject (sometimes the teacher may take an additional less mainstream subject like 'Living Skills'). It is reported that Shanghai teachers generally have a very high level of content knowledge in their own discipline (Liang, Kidwai & Zhang, 2016). More particularly, the English Language teacher is normally responsible only for the subject of English. However, it is noteworthy that there is no English Language proficiency requirement for teachers who teach the English Language in primary schools in Shanghai (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2011).

All teachers in Shanghai are required to participate in a series of rigid in-service experiences. The content of this in-service education is decided by teachers in consultation with their principals and is largely composed of school-based professional development groups, called *Teaching-Research Groups*. In these groups, teachers prepare lessons, sit in on and evaluate colleagues' classes, share educational experiences, discuss teaching problems, conduct action research on issues in their school and learn new teaching technologies and skills. According to Stoll (2008, p. 107), the advantages of this *Teaching-Research Group* is 'inclusive, reflective, mutually supportive and collaborative groups of people who find ways, inside and outside their immediate community to investigate and learn more about their practice'. Brown and Sue's study (2015) of *The Camden Early Years Learning Community project* also echoed that the Teaching-Research Group could not only enhance teachers with research evidence in mind, but also help practitioners combine research knowledge with practice-based or tacit knowledge.

Shanghai's *Teaching-Research Groups* function as professional development platforms consisting of teachers of the same subject, where the core objective of such groups is to allow teachers to conduct research and exchange ideas and resources on pedagogy and curriculum so as to improve their instructional capacity and teaching quality (Luo, 2011). The tiered network of *Teaching-Research Groups* at the municipal, district, and school levels enables quick and far-reaching dissemination of curriculum best practices. Each group has a leader who is responsible for organizing the activities and introducing novice teachers to the active learning community. The leader is also held accountable for overall teacher development in the group (Liang, Kidwai, Zhang, 2016). The collaborative nature of *Teaching-Research Groups* allows for the growth of the entire teaching community, rather than a few individuals.

Lesson observations take place throughout a teacher's career in Shanghai. Within the school, junior teachers engage in regular lesson observations of senior teachers to learn best practices. Reciprocally, senior teachers observe junior teachers' lessons to provide feedback. Sometimes teachers teaching the same subject observe each other's practices to provide peer feedback. This model allows teachers to benefit from one another's experience and serves as a supportive mechanism to bring new or struggling teachers to the level of their peers.

According to Shanghai Government (2004), teachers are expected to be active teachers who constantly develop their pedagogy and their implementation of innovations in relation to student outcomes. In addition, teachers are evaluated regularly for promotion to a higher rank, which is accompanied with a salary increase, based on their years of service and teaching performance. In this context, teachers are perceived to be enthusiastic to take these training courses (Liang, Kidwai, Zhang, 2016).

However, none of the above discussed professional learning opportunities for primary school teachers includes the subject requirements for English proficiency; they are concerned mainly with pedagogical development. Pinter (2017), whose research has looked at what counts as success in primary language teaching programmes, summarises the key messages as follows: English is best taught by a specialist teacher or class teacher who ideally has a level of English at CEFR B2 or C1. We can infer that Shanghai Government appears to believe that college graduates holding a non-education degree in English can be competent in teaching primary English. However, there is still a concern that the lack of qualifications in English could be problematic in that the quality of these teachers can hardly be guaranteed.

2.8 Challenges to successful Modern Languages implementation

Drawing from the above reviews of the teaching of Modern Languages in the research sites, there are two factors that may challenge the successful implementation of Modern Languages in schools:

- Limitations in the capabilities of teachers
- Limited time for Modern Languages learning

2.8.1 Limitations in the capabilities of teachers:

The previous studies reviewed indicated that for Modern Language education to be effective, teachers' expertise in Modern Languages skills is as important as their pedagogical skills. However, it appears that insufficient attention is paid to teachers' Modern Languages proficiency by the Educational Executives from both research sites when implementing Modern Languages in the primary schools. This may serve to undermine the essence of Modern Languages education to children, which is to entitle them to high quality Modern Languages experiences. However, this may not be a situation that emerges as part of the policy design. A possible interpretation of why this situation exists is that policymakers had no alternative but 'to resort to a makeshift staffing measure' (Hu 2005: 20) as they faced the dilemma of insufficient numbers of appropriately qualified teachers.

2.8.2 Limited time for Modern Language learning

Research has shown fairly conclusively that language proficiency does not develop faster in younger children unless the Modern Language is fully or partially immersed in the curriculum. Without this, Government aims are likely to be over-ambitious.

The current teaching time allocation in both research locations of the study — no statutory time for Modern Languages per week in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2012b); average 70-175 minutes (*Table one* in Chapter Four, section 4.4) in Shanghai primary schools — is insufficient to meet current expectations about achievement. Hence the expectations that an early start would lead to more successful Modern Languages learners would seem to be somewhat unrealistic.

However, it is not possible simply to link the above two challenges to possibly ineffective Modern Languages teaching without taking teachers' Modern Languages pedagogy into account. The next section will review previous studies on some mainstream teaching pedagogies in Modern Languages classrooms.

2.9 Modern Languages pedagogies

Before reviewing the Modern Languages pedagogy in the classroom, it is important to first review the development the concept of pedagogy in previous studies. Pedagogy is a complex and ambiguous concept, and the complexity is illustrated by the differences in definition that emerge amongst educational scholars. Simon (1981) believed pedagogy is the act and discourse of teaching. Alexander (2004) added that pedagogy is also the system and structure of children's development through the education process. Likewise, Olson (2003) indicated that pedagogy is not an explicit teaching method, but a professional decision about balancing the benefits to the children and the needs of wider society. Ponte and Ax (2009) regarded pedagogy as a human science, which could be shaped and influenced by the individual teacher's explicit and implicit views on values that they hold about education, e.g.: what kind of human person should children become.

In recent research in the field of education, pedagogy refers to the approaches and activities of the practice of teaching. Loughran (2013) suggests that pedagogy could be portrayed as a synonym for teaching practice. Similarly, Daniels (2016) states that pedagogy is a study of teaching methods that pays attention both to aims and the ways in which educational goals might be achieved. Livingston (2016, p. 330) argues that the domain of pedagogy is largely related to teachers' ideas and values, claiming 'pedagogy is the overarching concept that interacts with and draws together beliefs about the learners and learning, the teacher and teaching, and the curriculum. It also includes consideration of the context in which learning and teaching takes place'.

With respect to this study, similarities of and differences between Modern Languages teaching in Shanghai and Scotland are explored as are the means by which teachers teach to meet the needs of children and the demands of the curriculum. In this regard, pedagogy in this study is understood as schools' embedded teaching philosophy and practice, and the relationship between teaching and learning and expectations of the curriculum. This encompasses how the integrated relationship of teaching methods, pupil learning and curriculum expectation is understood, developed and embedded in schools in the two research sites. In the next section, the literature review will

examine the normative pedagogies that have been favoured and adopted internationally, particularly in Modern Languages classrooms.

According to previous studies (Nunan, 2003; Cook, 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Harmer, 2015) on the Modern Languages pedagogies, there are four mainstream pedagogies that have been most adopted in Modern Languages classrooms. They are:

- Academic pedagogy
- Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)/ Task-based learning (TBL) pedagogy
- Present-Production-Practice (3Ps)
- Play-based approaches in early-years classrooms

2.9.1 Academic pedagogy

Academic pedagogy treats second language knowledge as a desirable objective and holds traditional teacher-centred views (Harmer, 2015). Academic pedagogy involves adopting traditional academic ways to formally introduce Modern Languages, where teachers place heavy emphasis on, e.g., grammar explanation, translation and drills. The main feature of academic pedagogy is the use of a textbook. The purpose of academic pedagogy aims not to directly teach learners to use the language outside classroom, but aims to teach the second language as a subject, namely, the transmission of language knowledge (Cook, 2013).

2.9.2 Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)/ Task-based learning (TBL) pedagogy

The adoption of CLT /TBL pedagogy is intended to teach Modern Languages with the focus on learners' communicative competence and makes the performance of meaningful tasks central to the learning process. The essence of a CLT/TBL Modern Languages classroom is to engage learners in learning and speaking the target language in the process of completing communicative tasks (Cook, 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). A teacher employing CLT/TBL pedagogy often adopts techniques like *information gap exercises*, *role-play* and *completing tasks*.

2.9.3 Presentation, Practice and Production (3Ps)

3Ps is the most popular pedagogy in English as Foreign Language (EFL) teachers' classrooms, though critics have argued that it is clearly teacher-centred (Harmer, 2015). In a classroom in which a 3Ps approach has been adopted, the teacher *presents* a situation which contextualises the language to be introduced. The target language is then *presented*. After that, learners *practise* the language in accurate *production* techniques such as choral repetition (where learners repeat the word with the teacher), and cue-response drills (where the teacher gives a cue before asking a question). It should be noted that Harmer (2015) also argued that a 3Ps strategy is a more effective pedagogy for teaching Modern Languages to beginner level children than to more experienced Modern Languages learners.

With these mainstream Modern Languages pedagogies, it cannot be simply concluded which one is superior or inferior to the others. Teachers need to adjust various pedagogies to suit different learners' needs and their teaching priorities (Hedge, 2000; Nunan, 2003; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). When teaching the second language in early-years classrooms, there are a number of empirical supports to play-based strategies. For example, Wallerstedt and Pramling (2012) argues that play can facilitate children to extend in a fun way their previous knowledge and skills through interacting with their peers. Likewise, Ashiabi (2007) and Weisberg et al's (2013) studies suggest that different types of play could positively benefit children's socioemotional developments. Owing to the popularity of the play-based pedagogy in early-years classroom, the current research on play-base pedagogy merits being reviewed.

2.9.4 Play-based approaches in early-years classrooms

In early childhood settings in a great many countries, play-based approaches are enshrined in early-years curriculum guidance. In many Western countries especially, learning through play has been long supported and established in multiple educational contexts (Rogers, 2011). Play is often closely associated in these settings with the development of intellectual skills, thinking and motivation. Recent study by Berk (2013) recaps the prevailing view that playful activities offer a context for children learning through which they can then organise and make sense of their social

worlds. In the same vein, Rogers (2011) claims that play offers children opportunities to develop across a range of crucial aspects of learning, including moral development, ethical judgement, and aesthetic expression. These are important domains that Rogers (ibid) argues commonly lie outside what is ostensibly measurable in the curriculum, but which are integral to play.

A number of studies published over the past decade (Tsao, 2008; Brooker, 2011; Fisher et al., 2013) have gone further in suggesting that there are two types of play-based approaches active across various areas of education. One is *Children-directed Play*, where children decide and direct the activities in the classroom, following supposedly natural inclinations and appetites. Some researchers (Brooker, 2011; Wallerstedt & Pramling, 2012) have cautioned however that children-directed play is always dependent on children's previous experiences. In this regard, children's interests and inclinations in play may appear spontaneous but have actually been introduced by teachers rather than arising from innate species or developmental tendencies. The second approach therefore openly acknowledges the practice of *Teacher-directed Play*, which often operates in parallel with *Children-directed Play* (Rogers, 2011). Here activities are mainly and openly teacher-led, with clear learning objectives and outcomes derived from an official curriculum or Early Years documents.

However, it is important to note that the exact role and value of play in classroom teaching and learning has not been indisputably ascertained in modern educational research or in practice. Hence there are continuing debates about the *meaning* of play and its relationship to children's learning and development and how to integrate play into early childhood pedagogy. Similarly, the effectiveness and justifications for the various *forms* of play in the classrooms have been critiqued in a number of research studies of the last twenty-five years (Smith, 1994; 2006; Cannella & Viruru, 1997; Brooker, 2011; Rogers, 2011; Pyle, DeLuca, & Danniels, 2017). It seems from much of this literature that the commitment to play is as much a statement of value as a declaration of pedagogy.

Rogers (2011) further argues that it is difficult to precisely ascertain the efficacy of the play in practice, and it is also difficult to measure its benefits to children's development. She argues that, currently, play theory itself offers little practical insight for the teacher into how play activities should be managed, organised and integrated into the early childhood curriculum when translating

this into pedagogical and classroom contexts. More than this, Rogers (2011) also stresses that play should not be a vehicle for running a formal curriculum under the guise of a play-based philosophy. Unsurprisingly, it remains true that, in some schools, teachers feel under pressure to complete formal assessment profiles where the targets often do not necessarily match the play-based pedagogy supporting the curriculum framework (Hedges, 2010).

In the same more sceptical vein, Brooker's (2011) study critiques the effectiveness and efficacy of play-based approaches in contemporary classrooms, where there is often diversity of cultural background, in terms of such factors as child interest and disposition shaped by the experience of family, culture and local communities, and identity. He argues that promoting young children's learning through play activities, which are deemed potentially instructive, is more evident to practitioners than it ever is to parents or to children themselves. This echoes Rogers's (2011) arguments that classrooms are complex social worlds populated with children from often contrasting family backgrounds, where pedagogical practices, curriculum guidelines, educational theory, and beliefs cannot simply be put neatly into practice. Rogers (2011) also states that there are even contexts where a play-based approach in early childhood settings may severely limit the opportunities available to children to explore relationships within their play, or where, alternatively, the environment fails to offer the support that some children need in establishing the social contact that necessarily underpins rewarding or constructive play.

2.10 Summary

This Chapter has offered a review of previous literature which informs key aspects of this investigation. This includes the study of Modern Languages in primary schools, which I find the most important skills for children to grasp in living in this globalised world. The review of evidence related to starting ages for Modern Languages learning demonstrates that earlier introduction of Modern Languages does not guarantee better Modern Languages outcomes. The reviews of previous attempts to implement Modern Languages in primary schools in the two research locations, of Modern Language pedagogy, and of the teacher beliefs on policy implementation indicates to us that teachers' language capabilities and positive perceptions of Modern Languages policy are the keys to the successful implementation of Modern Languages

policy. Thus, it is worth conducting a study to examine the implementation of Modern Languages policy through looking at policy maker and practitioners' perceptions of the rationales, the provision and the recurring questions surrounding the teaching of Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai. In the next Chapter, I will develop the concept framework for this inquiry.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Foundation

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter explores the concepts relevant to the field of the policy implementation process in primary schools with a focus on the relationship between policy, practice and research in the subject of Modern Languages. In order to do this, this Chapter will review the nature of Modern Languages policy in both research sites through three interrelated theoretical lenses. The first lens is the governance framework focused on the relationship between policy and practice: the theoretical framework within which policy makers envision the relationship between policy intentions and their realisation in practice. The second lens is evidence-informed policy and practice, which offers insight on the relationship between research and policy and the extent to which policy communities have sought to pay attention to an evidence base in the process of policy design. The third lens is that of Modern Languages power relationships, which offers me insight into the contexts of Modern Languages teaching and learning in the two research locations.

3.2 Governance Theory

The governance theory that is applied in this study is an attempt to adopt a conceptual approach that frames the particular type of relationships among political sectors and actors directly implicated in the making of Modern Languages policies and priorities. Halfani et al (1988) stated some time ago that governance is how policies are administered and regulated, referring chiefly to a nation's system of politics and how this impacts on more specific expressions of governance culture. More recently, Graham, Amos & Plumptre (2003) argued that governance is an interaction amongst structures, processes, and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised and how decisions are taken in, e.g.: key zones of public goods such as education.

Recent sociological studies more directly focused on education—most especially Ball (2012a; 2016) — argue that governance consists of the decisions, actions, methods, and functions of *governing*. Governance is often confused with *government*. However, the two terms are not

synonyms. Government is related to bureaucracy, legislation, financial control, regulation, and force, while governance refers to the creation, execution, and implementation of activities backed by the shared goals of policy actors and non-policy actors (Richards & Smith, 2002). Ball and Junemann (2012, p. 3) conclude from previous literature on the distinction between the two terms that governance is ‘accomplished through the informal authority of diverse and flexible networks’, while, by contrast, government is ‘carried out through hierarchies or specifically within administrations and by bureaucratic methods’.

Governance theory entails deliberation about not only where (e.g.: education) policy is directed, but also about who should be involved in determining it and in what capacity (Ball, 2012a). Accordingly, governance theory offers a strong framework for the analysis of participants’ data in any research that involves examination of policy-making and implementation processes. For this study, the adoption of governance theory would help me to analyse the teacher data in the critical context of observing teachers’ actual positionality while also exploring their hidden motives and their understandings and perception of their own agency and actions in the power structures of education.

There are two popular governance frameworks that are operative in the field of political science. The first is hierarchical governance, where governance is exercised in an ordered setting of either top-down or bottom-up structures (Castiglione, 2007; Cumming, 2016). Bell & Stevenson (2006) critiqued hierarchical governance frameworks as intrinsically down-flows of power, which often failed to adequately reflect the way in which policy was being formed and reformed by challenges from the bottom layer. They argued that the emphasis on authorities and power means that hierarchical governance is likely to resolve itself into bureaucratic rule-making processes with a clear expectation that subordinates (e.g.: schools and teachers) will implement decisions that are made by managers (e.g.: Local educational authorities; central Government), ‘willingly or unwillingly’ (Bell & Stevenson, 2006 p. 21). Power is linked to the role an individual holds and his/her location in the hierarchy (ibid). For example, a head-teacher clearly has significant power in a school setting purely because of their role and the commonly shared views about the legitimacy of that role.

The second is a networks framework (peer to peer) model of governance. This more recent model decentralizes the executive power of a governing body and allows more resource exchange (finance, information, expertise) amongst actors within the policy networks to achieve the shared goal of the policy (Ball, 2012a). The terminology of policy networks in the British context was first popularised by Rhodes (1981, 1988). He was influenced by continental European studies on relationships between arms of governments, with an emphasis on the structural relationships amongst political institutions who were resource-dependent on one another. Network theory sits within a broad set of epistemological and ontological places spanning political science, sociology and social geography, with an increasing emphasis on the mobility of people, capital and ideas (Peck, 2010). As a governance framework, it allows flows of ideas as well as flows of people, where ideas are carried back and forth across boundaries between e.g.: the national, local authority, and school systems (Ball & Junemann, 2012).

In order to clearly demonstrate the nature of governance in the two research sites of this study, I adopt Stoker's schematic of *How government works* in an effort to present the governance structures of Shanghai and Scotland:

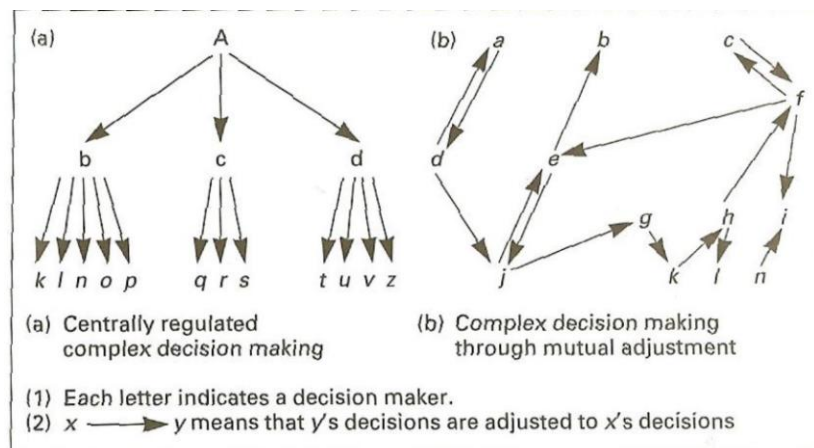


Figure 4.1 How government works

Source: Adapted from Charles Lindblom, *The Intelligence of Democracy: Decision Making through Mutual Adjustment* (New York: Free Press, 1965).

Figure 3: Two Descriptive Models of Policy Development (adapted from Stoker, G. 2006: p. 79)

In *Figure 3*, diagram (a) depicts the Shanghai governance model — the hierarchical model. As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7.2), Chinese policy, Shanghai in particular, historically is a centralised top-down system. Modern Languages policy exemplifies this process. Policy formation is undertaken by central government or by a specialist committee (Lu, 2003). Policy is then sent to Local Authorities to implement, and from there to schools and students—often, as we shall see, without careful consideration of the potential impact on them (Hu, 2007).

Diagram (b) presents a network model, which depicts reasonably well the theoretical governance structure in Scotland. As discussed in Chapter Two (section, 2.6.1) educational curriculum guidance in Scotland is collaboratively designed within multiple governance levels, e.g.: The Scottish Education Department, Local Authorities, and Non-Departmental Public Bodies, such as Education Scotland (the body responsible for the curriculum in Scotland) and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA – the body responsible for high stakes assessment in Scotland). Certainly in the ideal version of the model, each organisational body works together to support each other in the overall education system. And these bodies, theoretically at least, have roughly equal power and influence in the policy community.

Of course stern criticisms exist of the Scottish system of governance (Kenealy et al., 2017). Some critics suggest that its superficially ‘networked’ culture disguises hierarchy and uneven distributions of power and influence across the major agencies. Others point to a detachment of the network from the experiences of teachers, schools, pupils and communities (Humes, 2018). While acknowledging the sincerity of the democratic network values, still others (Paterson, 2014; Anderson, Freeman & Paterson, 2015) insist that the collaborative culture breeds complacency and inertia, handicapping (unlike England) the capacity of the system to respond confidently to Scotland’s big educational challenges and stifling radical change and experiment whenever it is proposed or attempted.

3.3 Evidence-informed policy and practice

Politicians today often claim that they are concerned to develop policies that are strongly evidence-based. It is suggested by Humes (2018) that any responsible government would take account of the available evidence before launching a new initiative. In this regard, another theory that is frequently adopted to understand the policy and practice in this particular study is that of ‘evidence-informed policy and practice’ (EIPP).

EIPP theory is often used in the field of politics to refer to situations whereby policy decisions are informed and implemented with the support of evidence from research and academic studies (Cartwright & Stegenga, 2011). The following schematic which I adopt from Brown (2015) clearly depicts the EIPP framework:

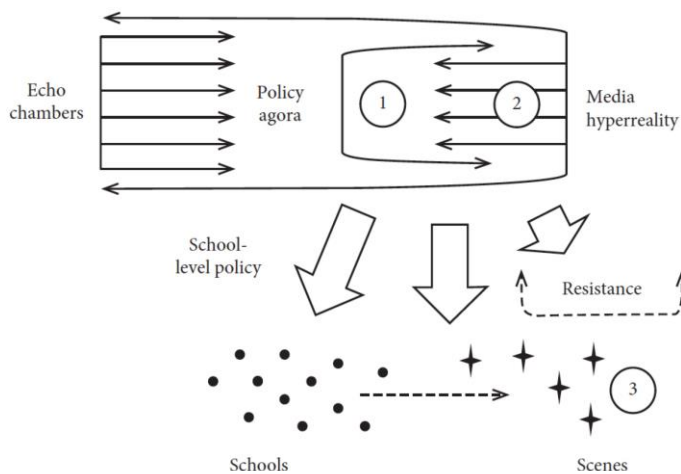


Figure 4 : The Evidence-Informed Policy and Practice (adapted from Brown, 2015: p. 153).

In this schematic, the *policy agora* represents the ideological and epistemological bounds of research use. The *media hyper-reality* refers to social opinion and action. *Echo chambers* are viewed as nascent or proto policy agoras. *Scenes* means teaching practice. Drawing from the schematic, it is implied that, in the policy initiative level (① and ② on the schematic), the policy

initiatives are shaped by research evidence and social opinions and actions. Brown (2015) states that research evidence will invariably be ignored when *media hyper-reality* has negative or unwanted consequences for government, and replaced with ‘ornamental’ research which policy-makers purposefully select to defend their positions and to promote their own interpretations of social meaning. He argues that this is also one possible reason for the recent decline in the interaction between policy and research communities.

In the practice level (③ on the schematic), schools develop these policies into practice which suits the level and needs of the children and teachers within their schools. Likewise, resistance may appear where teachers’ practice may be opposed to the policy, and where, instead, teachers satisfy or manage policy aims by implementing only what best suits the needs of their individual contexts (Brown, 2015). Moreover, *individual* teachers’ interpretation of the policy can further foster resistance to the policy. Individual decisions are influenced by a variety of personal qualities and capacities such as values and beliefs, leadership, knowledge and skills, resources and supports (Bowen and Zwi, 2005).

The EIPP framework is one that has proven to be attractive, at least in theory, in analysing the policy-making processes of many governments, including the Scottish Government (Humes, 2018). Within this model, policy makers produce policies that identify long-term problems to be addressed, are forward-looking in their vision and propose actions shaped by evidence, rather than produce policy statements that are a response to short-term pressures (Ibid). What happens in practice, however, does not always conform to the official account of the policy process.

With respect to this study, an EIPP framework offers me not only an understanding of the way in which evidence is gathered and presented in policy formulation, but also depicts the relationship between the policy agenda and practice implementation. EIPP is a strong framework for the analysis of the relationship between policy and practice, foregrounding the policy makers’ and teacher data.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that EIPP has its limitations. While such initiatives now abound, it is also argued that their impact to date has been restricted (Brown, 2013). For example, Nutley,

Walter & Davies, 2007) suggested that the *effectiveness* of EIPP sometimes might not be fully evaluated in its use across the civil service, and could be largely confined to case studies and simple anecdotes of success. This raises larger questions for the construction and use of evidence in major areas of educational policy and practice.

3.4 Modern Languages power framework

The importance of the English Language has been well documented by scholars internationally over the last two decades (Jenkins, 2006a, 2006b; Wolff, 2010). More recent research (Harmer, 2015; Pan, 2015) concludes that the widespread attachment to English is owing to it being seen as a dominant language in the international business world, the Internet world, the technologies world, and consequently in the world of popular culture — such as sports, music, film and world travel. The two research sites in this study represent very different contexts. In Scotland, the perceived power of what Modern Languages education can contribute to an individual's educational future where people have the advantage of being English native speakers may be very different from the power of English Language education in Shanghai. To consider this issue in greater depth, I will construct a Modern Languages power framework to deepen my understanding of the context of Modern Languages teaching and learning in the two research locations.

Reviewing previous studies (Pan, 2015; Crichton & Templeton, 2010b). Three powers are consistently identified as having an influence on the direction of Modern Languages teaching and learning in schools. The first power is located within the policy community, principally government. Ball (2012a) states that policy can be destabilised if a government's decisions and determination on the implementation of policy is inconsistent. Exemplified in the Modern Languages sector, an example of this phenomenon can be found in the Chinese context where English Language teaching and learning was once discouraged by the Chinese Government during the period in China when governance ideology was allied with the USSR but against the United States. The re-emergence of the English Language in Chinese schools can be traced back to the collapse of the relationship between the then USSR and China (Pan, 2015). Similarly, increased focus on Modern Languages teaching and learning in Scottish schools is mainly related to government action. Scott's (2015) study suggests that fluctuations in politico-educational

relationships could lead to major changes in the pattern of Modern Languages uptake and attainment in schools.

The second source of power lies in business. Modern Languages education is often supported by the international business and industry sectors who argue that Modern Languages offers an invisible added value for their employees, especially in the current globalised, economic world (Coleman, J.A., Galaczi, A. & Astruc, 2007). In this regard, the advantages of Modern Languages skills to the business world could, to some degree, steer the direction of Modern Languages education in school.

Finally, the third power is the power of the social context. Successful and sustainable learning of any language cannot be achieved if the environment into which the language emerges is not supportive of the survival of the target language (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a). The environment refers to the feasibility of use of that language in the given context, or the traction of the target language in the indigenous culture. In this regard the third power, which I refer to as *social power*, would be likely to have a strong influence on learners' Modern Languages attainments as well as their long-term motivation to continue with Modern Languages learning.

The next section will explore these ideas of power as they relate to Modern Languages learning in the two research locations in this study. The section will consider *Government power*, *Business power* and *Social power*, and establish the Modern Languages power relationship frameworks for Scotland and Shanghai.

3.4.1 Scotland

The Scottish Government makes consistent statements which suggest a positive attitude towards internationalisation. They both welcome immigrants to the country and support the study of Modern Languages, as well as demonstrating clear commitment to the revitalisation of Scotland's indigenous languages Gaelic and Scots (Phipps & Fassetta, 2015). For example, the *Strategy for Scotland's Languages* developed by the Scottish Government in 2007 emphasises language diversity in Scotland, particularly with regard to Gaelic, Scots, British Sign Language and ethnic

community languages in a context acknowledged to be multilingual but where English fluency is also required. The advent of *I+2 Approach for Languages* (Scottish Government, 2012b) again shows the Scottish Government's determination to promote linguistic diversity and multilingualism. In a report by the Scottish Parliament (2012, p. 2) on Modern Languages, it is clear that Scottish Government recognises this:

The link between Modern Languages and this vision for Scotland is obvious; as a nation we must recognise and promote the numerous benefits that language learning can bring to our learners, benefits which in turn radiate out to our schools, into sustained positive destinations beyond school, and ultimately impacting and benefiting society at large.

In relation to the business world in Scotland, it might be argued that its power to promote Modern Languages learning is limited or even restricted. This is due to the fact that English is the most used language in global business. In addition to this, the widespread use of English may demotivate Scots to learn other languages as their experience indicates to them that English is sufficient (Scottish Parliament, 2013). Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaaranta (2012) argue that although Mandarin has the largest number of speakers, English will maintain and increase its dominance in the global business world as a basic skill needed for the entire workforce. English is viewed as a process and a product of globalisation (Sonntag, 2003). In Scotland in particular, where business, online and offline, is conducted in English, the value and benefit of Modern Languages skills might seem to have little relationship to the notion of employability for Scottish people. Moreover, since the value of Modern Languages teaching and learning is often examined in relation to the costs of acquiring it and offset against the additional value gained by its use, one challenge for the Scottish Government and schools is to determine which languages are best to teach in an English speaking country. This could be another reason that may restrict the choice of a Modern Language amongst young Scots as they are unsure of the future market for the target language.

Drawing from the above discussion, which describes the three power drivers and the different contexts within which these emerge, the policy context and the real life context, the Scottish Modern Languages power relationship might be illustrated as follows:

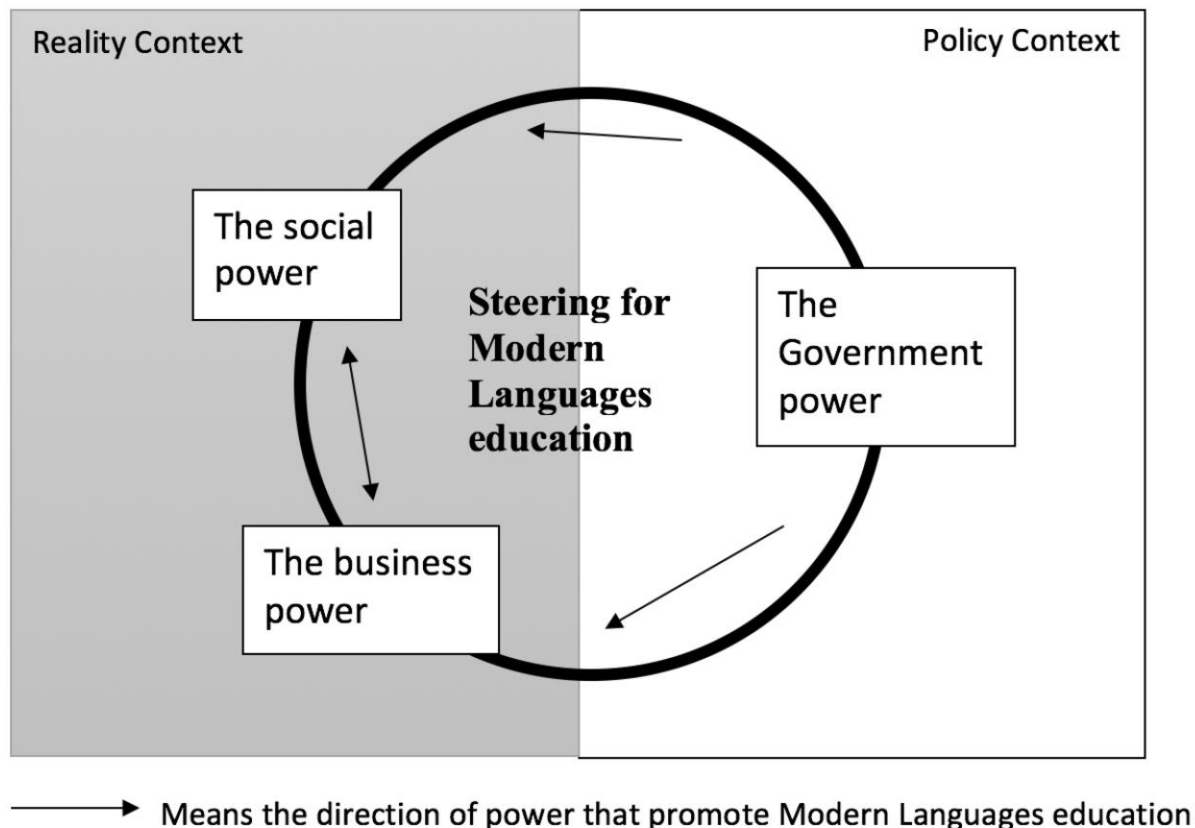


Figure 5: The different power relationships between language and context in Scotland

This schematic illustrates that the Scottish Government is attempting to drive forward Modern Languages teaching and learning, while, although commonly declaring an interest in Modern Languages, the business and social sectors show little evidence of this interest being translated into, for example, recruitment practices. Indeed, there is what might be regarded as a containment of Government power, as both Business and Society echo the formal aspirations but live in a reality where English is still the predominant communication tool in work and life in Scotland. In this regard, no matter how strongly the Scottish Government advocates on behalf of Modern Languages education, their discourse may be semi-detached from reality. The partnerships with business industry and society are grounded in competing discourses, and there is a lack of alignment amongst these power sectors.

3.4.2 Shanghai

The Shanghai Government consistently speaks highly of English Language teaching and learning in schools, and recognises the perceived extrinsic instrumental utility of the English Language. As previously discussed (Chapter Two, section 2.7), the Shanghai Educational Executive sets English as the single and compulsory second language in all primary schools (Shanghai Government, 2004). They expect young people in Shanghai to be equipped with this language to improve their competitiveness in this globalised world:

As we are living in this Globalised world, and we Shanghai as a harbour and economic developed city with its frequent international social and economic activities. The mastering the English Language – lingua franca is critical important to young people's study, work and life.

– Shanghai Government (2004, p. 1)

In addition to this, the Chinese Government, and the Shanghai Government in particular, always regard schooling as a priority for the creation of an aspirational society, hence instilling the hope of upward social mobility for everyone through education, especially for young people (Wong et al, 2012). This ideology also nurtures the culture of examinations, where examinations are seen as a vital route to ascend the social ladder and to achieve the desired upward social mobility by most young Chinese. In Shanghai schools, students must take two types of exam at municipal and national levels: (1) the municipal level examination is taken at the end of the nine-year compulsory period; this serves as the Senior High School entrance exam; and (2) Gaokao (the university entrance examination) taken by every high school leaver. Amongst this parcel of high-stakes examinations, English Language plays a prominent role in all examinations. Moreover, the One-child Policy in China from 1979 to 2015, a birth control policy which placed a strict one-child restriction on each family, also made family commitment to learning more powerful than ever before as parents dedicated all attention on their single offspring (Huang, Lei & Sun, 2015). Therefore, the desire for the success in English assessment contributes to the overwhelming support for the English Language being embedded as a compulsory subject in schools.

Furthermore, owing to this examination culture, English, in one form or another, is required everywhere throughout a Chinese person's lifetime. For academic purposes, one has to pass the National CET (College English Test) to achieve a BA or to graduate from a college; and one must take IELES and TOEFL exams to study abroad. If a student aims to work in international business companies, they must hold the BEC (Business English Certificate).

Although it is unlikely that debates on the place of English in the Chinese curriculum will ever be resolved (Deng 1997; Bolton 2004), society has grown ever more convinced of the indispensability English for not only the nation's development, but also more importantly for the individual's development. Ruan (2002: 134) observes '*You are kept away (from everything such as education and career development) if you are not efficient in English.*' In contrast to previous eras when English was associated with imperialism and colonialism (Pan, 2015), the English language is now regarded as symbolic capital for attaining brighter educational and career prospects and thus a better lifestyle.

In the light of the above discussion of some key features of English Language teaching and learning in Shanghai, the diagram below represents a model of the Modern Languages power relationship framework for Shanghai:

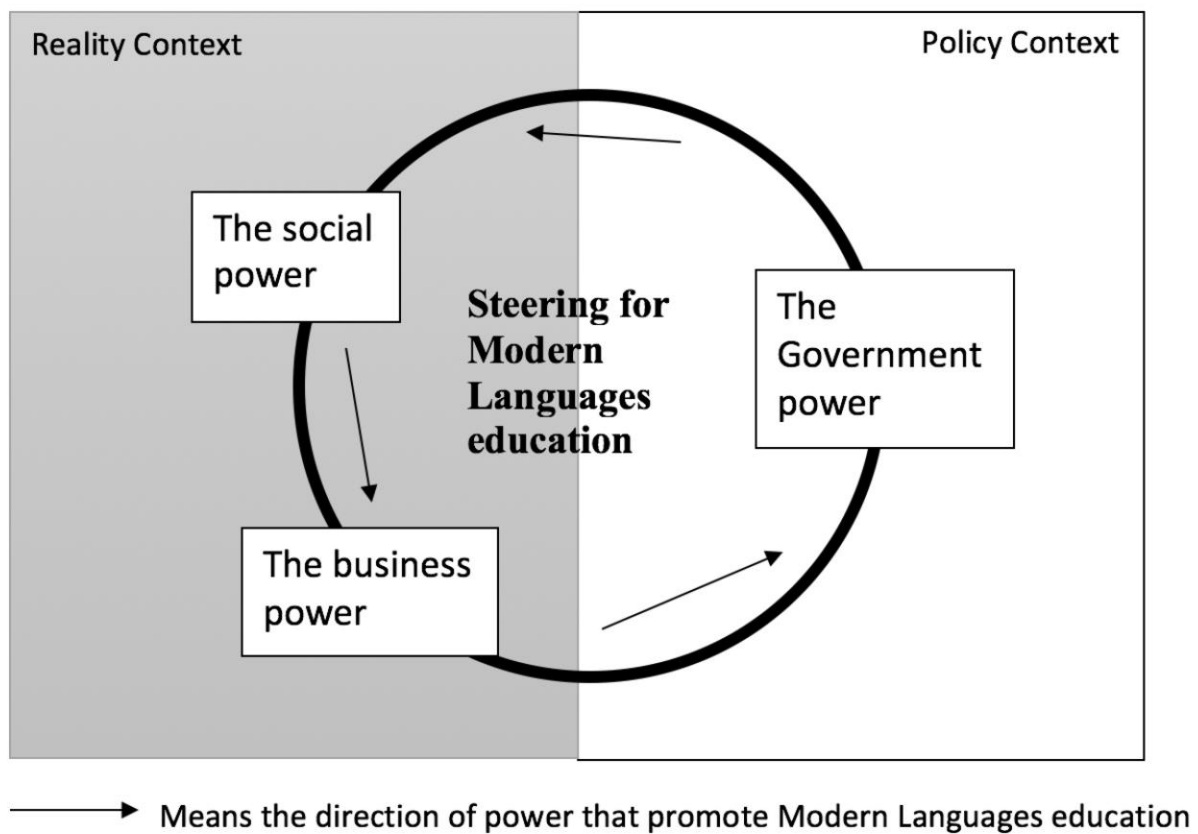


Figure 6: The different power relationships between language and context in Shanghai

Unlike the position of Modern Languages in Scotland, where the Government discourse is misaligned with the business and social discourses, the discourse used by the Shanghai Government and the discourses in business and society are well aligned. Since the direction of Modern Languages requires the alignment of government vision and business and economic realities, the above Modern Languages relationship framework can help to deepen our understanding of why, in theory, English Language learning in Shanghai is far more embedded in schools than is the situation in Scottish schools.

It is important to note that there are political reasons behind these differences. The two education systems work within very different political contexts. In Scotland, the liberal democratic free market culture constrains the power of central Government and its capacity to unify all stakeholders around a single vision or policy. In Shanghai, by contrast, Communist central

planning provides central authorities, such as major cities, with the tools and influence to drive policy and influence practices.

3.5 Summary

Drawing upon the underpinning concepts discussed above in this Chapter, it can be seen that educational policy implementation involves communication and negotiation amongst players in the policy community. These players often are politicians, policymakers, administrators, Local Authorities, researchers, schools and practitioners. Amongst these players, policy makers, schools and practitioners are the engine to drive the running of the policy, as the policy makers initiate the policy, while schools and practitioners eventually embed the policy in practice. In this regard, this study will link policy makers, Case Study Schools and practitioners as the key policy community players to investigate. I will adopt a qualitative research approach to explore the relationship between policy and teachers' practice in Modern Languages policy implementation by looking at the interaction of these players. The next Chapter will discuss the methodological choices for the conducting of this study.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having reviewed previous studies that are relevant to this study in Chapter Two and set out my theoretical framework in Chapter Three, I will provide an overview of the methodology and the research process of this study in this Chapter. This study adopts a qualitative case study approach, at the levels of both data collection and data analysis. After presenting the research questions of this study, I focus on discussing the rationale for the adoption of a qualitative approach to this study. The Chapter will begin by discussing the philosophical worldview and the path that I apply as the paradigm to this research: constructivism. The chapter will continue by outlining the qualitative research process, including the research design and the selection of participants. There will then be a discussion on the data collection and instruments that were used. Consideration will also be given to ethical issues and reflexivity, and to the question of validity. Finally, the data analysis methods, including classroom observation and interview analysis, will be described.

4.2 Research questions for the study

As has been discussed in Chapter Two, this study aims to examine Modern Languages policy implementation in two research sites, as a means of attempting to build a deeper understanding of the relationship between policy expectations and teachers' beliefs about policy and its impact on their practice. Four Research Questions (RQ) were developed, each question focussed on a major area for inquiry for this study:

1. What are the rationales for implementing Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai?
2. What are the relationships between policy makers and practitioners in the process of Modern Languages implementation in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai?
3. What are the issues and constraints of the successful Modern Languages implementation in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai?

4. What similarities and differences exist in teachers' approaches to pedagogy in teaching Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai?

In these research questions, the term 'teachers' refers to the practitioners from the two Case Study Schools in each of the two research sites — Shanghai and Scotland.

RQ1 and RQ2 aim to examine the Modern Languages initiative in each of the two locations;

- to identify the aspirations and the expectations of the Modern Languages policy
- to explore the relationship between teachers and policy makers in Modern Languages policy making and in the implementation process in the two research sites.

RQ3 and RQ4 are related to the implementation of the Modern Languages policies

- to explore teachers' beliefs about Modern Language education in primary schools,
- to analyse their teaching practice in a means to compare and contrast the similarities and differences in the educational systems and teaching pedagogies of Modern Languages teaching in primary schools in the two research sites.

The following sections in this Chapter will explain how I plan to address these research questions.

4.3 Philosophical Worldviews

This study adopts the term *philosophical worldview*, which was inspired by Creswell and Clark's (2011) study, as a term regarding the beliefs the researcher holds. These beliefs underpin the researcher's view of the nature of reality, data collection and data analysis in the context of any study, including this one (Scott & Morrison, 2005; Newby, 2010). Gibson and Brown (2009) suggest that researchers' adoption of their chosen philosophical worldview in conducting research depends upon their theoretical assumptions and the topic under investigation. Therefore, this section will firstly provide a brief overview of the three mainstream philosophical worldviews in the research field directly relevant to this study. These are *positivism*, *pragmatism* and *constructivism*. Then an explanation will be given in the next section as to why and how the

constructivist worldview or paradigm was adopted on the grounds that it would best serve the purposes of the investigation.

4.3.1 Positivism

Positivists hold a deterministic philosophical worldview. They believe that there is one external reality or one truth which is fixed and directly measurable (Bryman, 2012). In this respect, positivism is derived from empiricism, where valid knowledge is deemed only to be derived from authentic reasoning and/or empirical evidence. Positivist researchers tend to adopt a deductive approach in research, where they present and test hypotheses and develop statistical logical links between constructs (or variables) (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007; Creswell, 2014).

Pring (2000) suggested that, traditionally, researchers with a positivist stance often employ quantitative methods including experimentation, or quasi-experimentation; this may be extended to related non-experimental but still recognisably instrumental methods (e.g.: questionnaires, surveys, or use of existing data). In practice, positivist researchers often begin with a theory, collecting data that either supports or refutes the theory. They then make necessary revisions, conduct additional tests, and formulate revised hypotheses on the basis of verifiable data. These methods are of course strongly associated with the practices of the natural sciences and the principles of clinical observation and testing typified by medical research.

Research with objective assumptions often adopts a positivist quantitative approach (Creswell, 2014). Positivism in the social sciences seeks to develop general laws of social understanding, by discovering necessary and sufficient conditions for any phenomenon. But it is noteworthy that a pure positivist approach is inadequate on epistemological grounds. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) stated that positivist research data may be too abstract and general for direct application to specific individual situations. Likewise, Cohen et al (2007) contend that the nature of this method may reduce complex and highly variable and dynamic human experiences (such as learning) to entities that are measurable, often disregarding the individual's subjective or social experience of meaning-making, purpose and development. Moreover, Houghton (2011) argues that positivists display

excessive confidence in sticking to their claims of objectivity and empiricism, but do not subject these claims to scrutiny when applying them in both the social and natural sciences.

4.3.2 Pragmatism

The pragmatist worldview or stance arises out of the consideration of actions, situations and consequences rather than antecedent ideologies or assumptions (Denscombe, 2008). Pragmatists believe that there is a plasticity to reality reproduced from our habits of constant renegotiating, debating and interpreting our everyday environments (Gutek, 2014).

Creswell (2014) states that pragmatists do not see the world as a stable unity. He points out that research often happens within specific historical, political, social and other conjunctures. In this respect, pragmatists conduct research based expressly on the intended consequences—where they want to go with the research and for what practical social and moral reasons. Thus they use diverse approaches focused upon what works, and value both objective and subjective knowledge within the particular conditions of enquiry (Creswell & Clark, 2011).

Creswell (2014, p. 39) also states that pragmatists believe that *‘truth is what works at the time. It is not based in a duality between reality independent of the mind or within the mind’*. In the same vein, Creswell and Clark (2011) suggest that pragmatists tend to prioritise research *problems* in any investigative field and then use different approaches to derive knowledge of the problem and routes towards pragmatic solutions or advances. Hence they open doors to different methods, different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis. In this respect, pragmatism is generally regarded as the philosophical partner for the mixed methods approach in educational research (Salkind, 2010), which routinely combines the utilisation of quantitative and qualitative data to provide the best understanding of a research problem and how it might be productively addressed.

4.3.3 Constructivism

Constructivism, according to Creswell (2014), is a theory (often combined with interpretivism) that relies on observation and about how people jointly or individually *construct* their own understanding of knowledge of the world they encounter. Constructivists often address the process of interaction amongst individuals. They believe that individuals seek understanding of the world by experiencing things and reflecting with increasing rational and emotional capability on those experiences. Research that is constructivist relies mostly on participants' evolving perspectives of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2014). Constructivists view people '*as constructive agents and view the phenomenon of interest (meaning or knowledge) as built instead of passively received by people whose ways of knowing, seeing understanding, and valuing influence what is known seen, understood and valued*' (Spivey, 1997, p.3).

Constructivism therefore aims to *understand situations* rather than *measure behaviours*. Constructivists fashion views of the world by attempting to understand the situation from the perspective of how participants make meaning from their experience (Pring, 2000). Moreover, constructivists believe that there is no single reality or truth, and reality needs always to be interpreted and contextualised. Hence qualitative methods are deemed the best way to illuminate and explore those multiple realities, for the most part in environments of collaborative enquiry (Creswell, 2014). This last key feature explains the appeal of constructivism in many modern theories of pedagogy and curriculum, where teacher and learner are equally empowered in the pursuit of meaning and understanding.

It is important to note nonetheless that the constructivism is often questioned for its poorly theorised yet heavily invested conception of subjectivity and the subjective position. Researchers with constructivist worldviews are often criticised for being simply mistaken in their account of reality or for relying on constructed conclusions based on superficial or inadequate information (Fay, 1996). This not only applies to the researcher, but also to participants who contribute their thoughts and experience but who themselves may be operating on the basis of outright error or unreliable assumptions (Creswell, 2014). Attentive to such scepticism, and in order to reduce the impact of subjectivity, constructivist researchers often employ triangulation methods in their

enquiries—where evidence, insight and knowledge from different perspectives can be drawn together in support of an argument which nonetheless preserves the centrality and moral agency of joint construction throughout the task and its conclusions.

4.4 Applying Constructivism in this study

In relation to this study, the advantages of Modern Languages education are well acknowledged in previous studies (section 2.3 in Chapter 2), and the ambition of implementing Modern Languages learning in primary schools is well stated in both Chinese and Scottish statutory documents (Scottish Government, 2012a; Shanghai, 2004). However, the in-depth *understanding* of the reality behind the formal policy-making and implementation processes may not be readily captured simply from the application of policy ideologies and literature reviews. In this respect, constructivist worldviews and methods can best serve the purpose for the investigation of this study because they allow me inductively to explore and understand the situation of Modern Languages policy implementation in the two research sites through generally qualitative forms of investigation. At the same time, the constructivist paradigm encourages dynamic interaction with policy makers and teachers in their particular contexts as they shape and construct among themselves and with the researcher a jointly-formulated appreciation of the problem and its candidate solutions. This approach takes evidence and data seriously, but prioritises meaning-making, interpretation and professional implementation across the research participants in its pursuit of reliable insight and viable answers.

Seen from within the context of this project, positivism often privileges a purist quantitative approach (Creswell, 2014). But this may not give due weight to the policy makers' and teachers' subjective perspectives within the investigation. Similarly, pragmatism, which tends to favour a mixed method research design and in which identified problems normally initiate research which then tests them within broader and broader settings, does not fully address the purpose of this study because it remains sceptical of subjective experiences and narrative knowledge in its interpretation of problems and its practical crafting of solutions.

4.5 The qualitative research design

As discussed previously in Chapter Two (section 2.2.4), practitioners do not confront policy as readers, they come with experiences, values and professionalism of their own (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 2017). These factors raise questions about how policy is interpreted by practitioners who may be selective in their engagement with the policy text, focusing on particular parts of the policy and misunderstanding or rejecting other dimensions. In this regard, adopting a qualitative research approach for this study offers a better opportunity for me to tease out the practitioner's interpretation of the policy text. This, in turn, could help to deepen understanding of the implementation of Modern Languages policy in schools through listening to their responses and observing their practices.

Previous scholars (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002, Humes, 2018) have identified that the quantitative approach to research is the dominant methodology in policy-oriented research. Governments are in favour of using quantitative research results as numbers can provide an apparently clear and convenient basis for reaching policy decisions. Humes (2018, p. 103) criticises that *'the harsh reality is that politicians usually want simple answers to complex problems, often within a very tight timescale. So that they can announce their plans in a headline-grabbing way'*. However, quantitative approaches to policy research have their limitations for they cannot provide holistic or in-depth explanations of social and behavioural problems. It would not be possible for me to develop a deeper understanding of what goes on inside the processes of policy development and implementation and the diverse nature of issues arising by collecting quantitative data alone.

Qualitative approaches to research in educational policy that create detailed empirical data offer the potential to build more substantial and more deeply nuanced understandings of the complexities of the policy process. For example, as will be discussed in section 4.7, I use semi-structured interviews to help to construct understanding through conversations with teachers e.g.: of perceptions of the purpose of primary school Modern Languages education and of the constraints and issues that they encounter in teaching practice.

Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2009) conclude that qualitative methods are seen as inherently more suited to the goals of critical research as they allow a researcher to explore phenomena in their natural settings with multi-methods to interpret, understand, explain and make meaning. In a qualitative research paradigm, my role is considered as an instrument of data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This means that data are mediated through me, rather than through inventories, questionnaires or experiments. This is different to a quantitative approach to research, where my role would be theoretically non-existent as participants would act independently of me in the research (Flick, 2013). In this study, I visit the contexts, the Case Study Schools, where the Modern Languages policy is being implemented. I observe the classroom (the natural world) in order to examine how the Modern Languages are becoming embedded in classrooms in the two research location, through observing the lesson in action and the pedagogies of the teachers. In this way, I play an active role in the research process; an instrument actively engaged in the collection of data to in the fieldwork.

Qualitative approaches to research are credited with offering opportunities to gather relatively sensitive data and data that have greater validity (Creswell, 2014). This is attributed to the methods used. For example, the face to face interactions between the participants and me offer the potential for trust to be established, enabling the generation of more in-depth, more authentic data. Consistent with this position, Flick (2013) argues that qualitative research can facilitate the exploration of more detailed insights into the reasons behind actions than would emerge from more general results. This means that one of the aims of qualitative research is to investigate reasons rather than merely stating the problem. Similarly, Bryman (2012, p.108) indicates that qualitative research '*involves in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reason behind various aspects of behaviour*'. For this study, I design the research in a way that will explore the links between the policy rationale and aspirations and teachers' perspectives as to its feasibility and issues and constraints inherent in the enactment of policy in practice. In this way, evidence emerging from the research can provide in-depth understanding of the current context that can serve as an evidence base to generate possibilities of how to improve the effectiveness of the implementation of Modern Languages teaching and learning in primary schools.

Based on what has been discussed above, I conducted this study within a qualitative paradigm, using semi-structured interviews and classroom observations to look critically at the Modern Languages policy initiatives and policy implementation in Scotland and Shanghai.

Owing to the nature of this study, which is based on a detailed analysis of the responses from individual language teachers sharing their perceptions of primary school Modern Languages education, and comparing and contrasting the nature of differences between individual teachers and schools' contexts, I chose to adopt a case study design. The rationale for the choice of the case study method in this study will be addressed in the following section.

4.5.1 Research design

The case study approach is associated with the identification and the exploration of specific instances of a phenomenon and is frequently designed to illustrate a more general issue (Creswell, 2014). A case within educational research could be a school, a community or one or more individuals (Yin, 2003). Within this research project, the case includes practitioners (teachers and head-teachers) in two primary schools from each of two research locations. As has been discussed in Chapter Two (section, 2.3), Modern Languages teaching in primary schools has been broadly welcomed, but with concerns about the efficacy of its enactment in practice being voiced in both Shanghai and Scotland. The adoption of a Case Study design allows me to examine teachers' detailed perspectives on the practice of Modern Languages learning within a small number of Case Study Schools. This approach allows me to offer a richer insight into the processes and issues related to Modern Languages learning in the Case Study Schools.

The essence of the Case Study approach is its focus on a real life situation by providing a rich description of the situation through the use of different types of data (Stake, 1995). Within case studies, different instruments are used to gather both subjective and objective data (Dyer, 1995). Cohen, et al (2007) noted that the case study should construct, as far as is possible, a reflection of the actual research situation. Namely, by engaging with the multiple perspectives of practitioners interviewed or observed, I can then construct my understanding of the specific situation of the studied case.

Yin (2003) classifies case studies into different types, based on whether the study is conducted for exploratory, descriptive or explanatory purposes. Exploratory case studies may serve as a pilot to generate hypotheses which may then be tested by larger surveys or experiments. Descriptive case studies provide a narrative account, or story of the situation. Explanatory case studies may be used to test theories. The focus of inquiry for this study is a descriptive case study, where my exploration focuses particularly on the situation of the implementation of Modern Languages policy within only two schools in each of two education systems.

It is also worth noting that Yin (2003:23) previously defined the case study research method as '*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context*'. For this study, I am fully aware that participants' views might change with time. The evidence from this study, therefore, relates only to the period during which I visited the schools and offers evidence about the implementation of Modern Languages at that time in the case study schools.

In summary, drawing on the previously discussed purpose and philosophical worldview of this study, qualitative data will be collected in ways designed to build a deep understanding of the enactment of Modern Languages policy in practice in two primary schools in each of Scotland and Shanghai, using semi-structured interviews and classroom observations to look critically at both the Modern Languages policy and policy implementation. Two key research objectives were established to understand the implementation of Modern Languages policies in Scotland and Shanghai:

In order to attain these research aims, the research goals are divided into two phases:

A) Policy Initiative Phase -

- To connect previous studies and policy documentation with policy makers' responses to the rationale for embedding Modern Languages in primary education and the support offered to teachers in order to translate policy into practice.

B) Policy Implementation Phase -

- To investigate teachers' perspectives, using interviews, concerning the rationale for Modern Languages learning in primary schools and their perceptions of the support available to them as they seek to embed Modern Languages policy in practice.
- To investigate similarities and differences in primary school Modern Languages teaching in Scotland and Shanghai by observing teachers' classroom teaching.

Since this study was conducted in two research sites — Scotland and Shanghai — the same data collection process was adopted for the investigation in each context. During the *Policy Phase*: Modern Languages policy documents were first collected and analysed; secondly, semi-structured interviews with policy makers were conducted to deepen understanding of Modern Languages policies rationale and aspirations. During the *Policy Implementation Phase*, investigations into teachers' perceptions of the process of policy implementation and into the impact of policy on their practice were conducted within the case study schools.

4.6 Selection of participants

As noted earlier, the study was conducted in two research sites — Scotland and Shanghai. The data collection for this inquiry in both research sites involved same collecting processes. Before starting the field work, I first sent all potential participants the Plain Language Statement (PLS) (Appendices 1 & 2), which contains detailed information about this research, in terms of its purpose, processes and the contributions they were invited to make. This also provided them with my research details and an indication of what would follow if they agreed to participate this inquiry. In the PLS, teachers were informed that their participation in this research was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time. All participants signed the *consent form* before I began the process of data collection with them (see Appendices 3 & 4). Before discussing in greater detail the instruments that I adopted in this study, the next section in this chapter will present the backgrounds of the participants and the Case Study Schools in the two research sites.

4.6.1 Shanghai — Policy makers from China

As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), the reasons for involving two policy makers in this inquiry is owing to the curriculum design process in Shanghai: though Shanghai is relatively autonomous, it still has to embrace a central ideology as it creates its own curriculum which suits Shanghai's own development. In this regard, there are two policy makers involved in this inquiry: policy maker 1 (P1), who is one of the policy making staff from the central Ministry of Education in Beijing; and policy maker 2 (P2), who is one of the staff of the Shanghai Ministry of Education.

P1 is responsible for designing the National Curriculum for all disciplines, including Modern Languages, in the *Department of Basic Education I* of the Chinese Ministry of Education. The reason for inviting P1 to become part of this study is because P1's views are critical in that she is in a position to offer insights into Central Government ideology and aims for the development process for Modern Languages policy. As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6.3), China claims to be moving towards more decentralised governance in Education, but policy is still influenced by the Central Government's ideology to some degree. Hence, the participation of the P1 is a valuable contribution to this inquiry.

Policy Maker 2 (P2) is currently responsible for the design of the primary schools English Language Curriculum in Shanghai. It is noteworthy that, before serving the Shanghai Administration for Education, P2 had been an English Language teacher for nearly 17 years in a Shanghai primary school. She is reputed to have extensive knowledge of English Language teaching practice and may thus have a deep understanding of the issues and constraints of teaching English that teachers may experience in practice. Both policy makers agreed to participate in this research unreservedly.

4.6.2 Shanghai — Case Study School 1 & 2

Case study school 1 (C1) is a state-funded primary school in Shanghai, in the central urban district, with around 1200 pupils and 100 staff. 18 of the staff are English Language teachers. Case study school 2 (C2) is also a state-funded primary school with around 900 pupils and 70 staff. Around

15 of the total staff are English Language teachers. The two participant teachers each teach English Language to only 2 classes. Both Case Study Schools (C1 and C2) introduce English Language learning from Primary one as a compulsory course. Schools are required to allocate specific amounts of time for each subject by the Shanghai Government (see the Table 1 below). Children have five formal English Language lessons per week, which varies from 70 minutes to 175 minutes depending on the particular school year.

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5
Chinese	315	315	210	210	210
Math	105	140	140	175	175
English	70	70	140	175	175
Science	70	70	70	70	70
Social science	70	70	70	70	70
Music	70	70	70	70	70
Art	70	70	70	35	35
PE	105	105	105	105	105
IT	N	N	70	N	N
Living skills	N	N	N	35	35

Table 1: 2016 Shanghai curriculum lesson time guideline (SHMEC, 2016). Unit: Minutes/per week

The table below provides detailed profiles of the participant teachers' qualifications and experience.

Coded name	School	Degree and Responsible subject	Years of teaching experience	Date of the interview and observation
Teacher 1 (T1)	C1	B.A in English Language in a Comprehensive University	5 years	26 /09 /2016
Teacher 2 (T2)	C1	B.A in Education in a Normal University	3 years	28 /09 /2016
Teacher 3 (T3)	C2	B.A in Chinese Language in a Normal University	12 years	03 /10 /2016
Teacher 4 (T4)	C2	B.A in English Language in a Normal University	9 years	03 /10 /2016

Table 2: Teachers' qualifications and experience

4.6.3 Scotland — Policy Maker 3

Policy maker 3 (P3) is a Senior Education Officer within Education Scotland. He has particular responsibility for the provision of national curricular support for the *1+2 Approach* policy development and implementation. Like P2 from Shanghai, P3 had also been a Modern Languages teacher for many years before serving in Education Scotland. This Modern Languages teaching experience makes him a valuable participant for this study as he is likely to have an in-depth knowledge of both the policy process and policy in practice. I made contact with P3 with the support of my supervisor.

4.6.4. Scotland — Case Study School 3 & Case study school 4

Case Study School 3 (C3) is a state-funded non-denominational school in Central Scotland with a roll of 500. This school has offered French to children from Primary One for many years. Many children are introduced to French in cluster nursery schools and this language is taught from P1 to P7 by a language specialist—Teacher 5 (T5).

At the time of my visit to C3, T5 was in charge of French and Italian teaching to all pupils (from Primary 1 to Primary 7) in the school. She taught only French and Italian in the school. C3 had a number of class teachers who were able to teach a little French when T5 was not available.

Children have one French Language lesson per week. This lasts for 50 minutes. I was also informed that children between Primary 5 and Primary 7 have 6 lessons every January and February supported by follow-up lessons with their class teachers.

Case Study School 4 (C4) is a state-funded non-denominational primary school in Northern Scotland with around 200 pupils. At the time of my visit, the school was introducing Mandarin to pupils from Primary 1 to Primary 7, and an additional Modern Language, Spanish, is taught from Primary 5 to Primary 7. It is worth noting that the decision of C4 to teach Mandarin as the first Modern Language to children could be attributed to the support of the Local Authority and the Confucius Classrooms initiative (organised and funded by the Chinese Government).

There are 9 class teachers in school. At the time of my visit, Mandarin was co-taught by class teachers and a Mandarin Conversational Assistant (CA), a Chinese University student who was a volunteer. The participant Teacher 6 (T6), who is a class teacher, has a lower intermediate level Mandarin qualification, had lived in China for one year and had attended Career-long Professional Learning (CLPL) courses in Beijing in each of the last two summers. A second participant, Teacher 7 (T7) obtained a MA (Master of Art) in Mandarin and, from my perspective, was fluent in Mandarin.

Children normally have 2 language lessons per week, each lesson lasting 15 minutes for P1- P3 children, and 30 minutes for children from P4-P7. Staff have also begun to integrate more Mandarin and Spanish into other areas of the children's curriculum. For example, all signboards in the school are in three languages. There had also been a focus on learning about the culture, history and geography of China and Spain through language study.

The place of Modern Languages in the two Case Study Schools is quite different. As discussed in Chapter two (section 2.5), primary schools in Scotland have a great deal of autonomy to choose

which Modern Languages are introduced in a school. The Head teachers of both Scottish Case Study Schools were also invited to participate in this study. All invited practitioners agreed to be part of this research project. The table below provides detailed profiles of the participant practitioners' qualifications and experience relevant to this study.

Coded name	School	Degree and Responsible subject	Years of teaching experience	Date of the interview and observation
Teacher 5 (T5)	C3	MA in Education, French and Spanish language specialist	Over 10 years	31 /10 /2016
Teacher 6 (T6)	C4	B.A in Education, Class teacher, Live in Beijing for one year.	2 years	14 /11 /2016
Teacher 7 (T7)	C4	M.A in Mandarin, Class teacher. Regularly visits China.	7 years	14 /11 /2016
Head Teacher (H3)	C3	N/A	N/A	31 /10 /2016
Head Teacher (H4)	C4	N/A	N/A	14 /11 /2016

Table 3: teachers' qualifications and experience

As discussed previously, this study used semi-structured interviews and classroom observations to collect evidence related to the research aims. The following sections describe each instrument and why it was seen as an appropriate tool to address the research questions for this study.

4.7 Research instruments

4.7.1 Classroom observation

Classroom observation is well regarded as an approach to the collection of evidence in research in classroom language education. Using this approach enabled me to observe first-hand how the curriculum of the language classroom is enacted (Allwright, 2014). Interviews, as Nisbet and Watt (1984) suggest, provide important data, but they reveal only how people perceive what happens,

not necessarily what actually happens. Observation can be useful in helping to triangulate evidence to explore whether people do what they say they do, or behave in the ways that they claim to behave (Flick, 2013). In this research, classroom observation is used to generate evidence to examine what is actually happening in the Modern Languages classroom and how the teaching observed relates to the essence of the Modern Languages policy. This helps both to broaden and deepen my ideas of what is actually happening in classroom practice rather than relying only on teachers' description of their language class (Cohen, et al., 2007).

Classroom observations are sometimes characterised as participant or non-participant (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2010). In participant observation, I play a role in classroom practice, and may take notes while participating. However, this approach has disadvantages, for example, a long time may have to be spent in the case study classroom in order to become a generally accepted part of the class (Flick, 2013). In non-participant observation, the observer does not participate in class activities. S/he sits in the class watching and taking notes on what is happening. Non-participant observation also may have drawbacks. For example, the teacher might be uncomfortable, believing that the observer might be evaluating his/her teaching performance. In both participant and non-participant classroom observation there is the potential that the observer's involvement in the classroom may disturb students' natural day-to-day routines and, consequently, students may behave differently (Flick, 2013). In this regard, before joining the classrooms to be observed, I had an informal initial discussion with the teacher whose classroom was being observed. These discussions proved to be very useful in building relationships. The teacher had an opportunity to provide me with information about the class to be observed. It also offered me the chance to express my gratitude and appreciation of the teacher's contribution. In this study, I was the sole observer in the classroom. A risk emerging from observations made by one person only is that there could be accusations of bias or misinterpretation in the observation process. In order to address this limitation, the interviews were conducted with teachers after the classroom observation. In this way, I had an opportunity to explore understanding of the questions or confusions that emerged in the process of observation (Ary, Jacobs & Sorensen, 2010). In this study, I adopted a non-participant observation schedule to observe teachers' pedagogies, their lesson plans, lesson contents and teaching resources. As previously indicated, non-participant observation is sometimes criticised on the grounds that being observed may lead people to behave differently,

thus invalidating the data obtained, as with the *Hawthorne Effect* (Wragg, 2012). To reduce this risk, I observed more than one Modern Languages lesson in each research site.

The instrument adopted to record the observations took the form of written notes. Written notes allowed me to make immediate notes at the scene of the lesson. Likewise, taking notes enabled me to economically make use of time in classroom observation. Moreover, the notes that had been written in the classroom could also be used in follow up interviews with the teachers in after-class discussions. However, notes written immediately may be superficial or less reliable as there is no chance to replay the action (Flick, 2013). Hence audio-tape recording was also adopted as another means of recording the observation. This addressed the limitation of written notes as these were supported with a sound recording, which could be replayed several times (Wragg, 2012, p.16):

Good sound record can be replayed several times for discussion, analysis, or corroboration of written account; radio microphone can be used to obtain high quality record of what the teacher says; observer's comments can be recorded simultaneously on twin-track tape.

For this study, I used audio-tape instead of video-tape to record all the observed classrooms. Though fully aware of the advantage of video recording, which offers both visual and sound records which can be replayed, I chose audio-tape because the teachers and children involved in this study were not used to being video recorded and I was concerned that video might have inhibited the teacher or the children (Wragg, 2012). It is also worth noting that although the focus of the observation was on teachers' pedagogies, children's reactions which reflected the atmosphere of the classroom were also recorded by the second recorder. Hence subjective observational comments were collected by me. These focused only on the children's responses and were recorded in the classrooms simultaneously (Flick, 2013).

I observed two teachers' lesson, using a pre-designed observation form (Appendix 11), one teacher's lesson per Case Study School in each research site. The observation form was pre-designed by me with the focus on teachers' pedagogies in teaching Modern Languages classes. The following section provides information about the time allocation of the observations undertaken in the field work.

4.7.2 Length of the observation

4.7.2.1 Scotland:

The geographic proximity of Case Study School 3 (C3), allowed me to visit C3 on four occasions where I observed T5's lessons on 4 occasions. While the distance to Case Study School 4 (C4). (140 miles) restricted opportunities for the number of researcher visits, I visited C4 on one occasion and observed T6's lesson on one occasion.

4.7.2.2 Shanghai

The strict school rules for children's security in Shanghai's Case Study Schools meant that I was only permitted to visit each for one day. Hence, I observed T1's lesson (Case Study School 1) on one occasion, and T4's lesson (Case Study School 2) on one occasion.

4.7.3 Semi-structured interviews

As discussed above, semi-structured interviews were adopted to develop an in-depth understanding of the implementation of Modern Languages policy from both policy makers and Case Study School practitioners. It is well documented (Flick, 2013; Creswell, 2014) that interviews can provide an enriched understanding of the complex issues of perceptions and attitudes. For example, interviews provide opportunities for me to receive immediate responses and explanations of issues that may emerge during the interview. In this study, using the interview as a data collecting tool enabled me to obtain rich information from all the participants, and also enabled me to adjust my questioning where I believed that follow up questions were necessary to check her understanding of issues arising.

Yin (2003, p.18) stated that interviews could be an essential research instrument for studies which involve a small number of participants, as they provide researchers with opportunities to build a

trusting relationship with the interviewee. In this way, more in-depth data might emerge than if other instruments were used, e.g. questionnaires. Three types of interviews are commonly used in research: structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Structured interviews involve interviewing participants by following fixed questions in an exact pre-listed order; unstructured interviews are conducted without a framework of pre-listed questions. Semi-structured interviews are a combination of these two types, where the interviewer can start with a framework of pre-determined questions and end with an open discussion with the participants. In this way, semi-structured interviews allow more opportunities for the interviewer to explore further particular research themes, without losing the opportunity to explore key ideas (Burns, 2010). Semi-structured interviews also have drawbacks such as having less control of questions and the evidence emerging can be time consuming to analyse (Flick, 2013).

In light of the above discussion, semi-structured interviews were chosen for this study for two reasons: Firstly, semi-structured interviews allow me to ask follow up questions during the interviews in order to clarify participants' responses. This was especially important when collecting data in Scotland, where I found it difficult to keep up with the participants when they spoke in colloquial language. In this regard, semi-structured interviews allowed me to rephrase and present questions in several ways in order to make sure that I had a sound understanding of what the participants meant. In addition to this, owing to my limited awareness of conventions in Scotland, and my limited classroom teaching experience, semi-structured interviews helped me to seek explanations from the participants and allowed me to probe unexpected responses. These strategies are likely to increase the reliability of the data (Creswell, 2014).

Secondly, the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews allowed me to prepare an Interview Questions Protocol (see Appendix 5) identifying key issues that the research intended to explore, while allowing me to vary the order of questions wherever needed during the interviews. For example, in the *Interview Themes* (as below) with teachers, when questioned about *their understanding about the current policy requirement* in primary schools, participant teachers tended to discuss the pedagogies they used to teach meaningful Modern Languages lessons. In this regard, I could then shift the order of later questions.

During the semi-structured interviews, I adopted the scheduled list of Interview Themes (see below), which were adapted as necessary to seek further details. As illustrated below, there were two theme guides, one for policy makers and another for case study school teachers. The themes listed were used in both research sites as a framework for interview questions. The interviews with teachers were conducted after teachers' classroom practice. This design allowed me to better understand teachers' teaching processes in the context of their own explanations.

4.7.3.1 Interview Themes:

With policy makers, I explored:

Their expectation of the outcomes of the current Modern Languages policy.

The evidence used when designing the current Modern Languages policy, e.g. rationales, research, funds, teachers' languages abilities.

What factors were taken into consideration to support the policy into practice in ways that were sustainable.

With practitioners (teachers and head teachers) in the Case Study Primary Schools, I explored:

Their understanding of and attitudes to current Modern Languages policy expectations.

The issues and constraints encountered in teaching Modern Languages in primary schools (for teachers only).

The pedagogies used to teach meaningful lessons (for teachers only).

Their recommendations for successful and sustainable Modern Languages learning in primary schools.

This section has discussed the research instruments adopted to conduct this inquiry. In collecting the data for this study, I was involved in discussing policy issues with policy makers and teachers, and observing teachers and children. In this regard, the consideration of ethics merits discussion in the following section.

4.8 Ethical considerations

Cohen et al. (2007) describe ethics as the branch of philosophy in educational research concerned with human behavioural rules, principles and their choices. In conducting this study, and following the guidelines of ethical consideration set for social research, formal permission was sought from the Local Authorities of the four Case Study Primary Schools involved in this study. Since this study involves my working in the classroom with the children under 12, I applied to the Protecting Vulnerable Groups (PVG) Scheme⁶ to allow the Scottish Government to check my suitability to work with children or protected adults.

After receiving permission by email from the Local Authorities, the Case Study Schools and the PVG Scheme, an application for ethical approval was made to the Ethics Committee of the School of Education, University of Glasgow. Once ethical approval was received, I proceeded to collect data first in Shanghai, then in Scotland. Prior to data collection, all participants were provided with an outline of the field work and the aims of this study. All participants were also reminded that participation was voluntary, and they were free to withdraw at any time before, during or after this study. When they opted to be participants, their informed consent was sought in the form of signed a *Consent Form* (see Appendix 3 for teachers; Appendix 4 for policy makers). Following ethics requirements, while reporting the outcomes of the study, the participants were allocated a code, e.g., a teacher as ‘T+ No.’, a policy maker as ‘P + No.’ so that no-one could be identified by name.

In addition to this, the data collected in the Shanghai context are easier to anonymise. This is due to the relatively high number of policy makers in both the central Ministry of Education and the Shanghai Ministry of Education and the large population of English Language teachers in Shanghai Primary Schools. The large population in the Shanghai context reduces the potential risk that participants could be identified.

⁶ Protecting Vulnerable Groups (Scotland) Act 2007

However, different issues had to be addressed when considering the confidentiality of data in the Scottish context. This was an area of particular concern for the participant policy maker. Confidentiality was a more significant issue as there were relatively few individuals holding the same position as the policy maker interviewed. Scotland is a small nation. Hayward (2007, p. 251), argues that *'The world of education is small and the system is run by people who know one another, politicians and professionals'*. In this context, the policy maker might potentially be identified. The same confidentiality challenge also existed with one of my Scottish teacher participants, who is a specialist and the only Modern Languages teacher in her school. The number of primary schools with one language specialist is not high in Scotland and hence, actions had to be taken to maintain the anonymity of both this participant teacher and the policy interviewee.

In order to deal with the above confidentiality issues, I applied two further restrictions to the recording of data in order to protect my participants. First, I chose neither to provide a detailed research location in the Scottish context, nor to give detailed information (e.g.: enrolment population, staff population of the schools, and teachers' gender) about the participant schools. Second, I chose not to provide detailed information about the Scottish policy maker (e.g.: the gender, responsibilities and an accurate number of previous working years). In this way, I could reduce the risk that either individual could be identified.

4.9 Reflexivity

In qualitative research, the researcher is often constructed as the human research instrument. Hence the researcher's background and position will affect the research in terms of the topic to be investigated, the direction of investigation, the choice of research methods, the consideration of appropriate findings, and the demonstration and communication of conclusions (Malterud, 2001).

In this study, I have described, in Chapter One, how my lived experience as a Modern Language teacher, as a Modern Language learner in China and as an international student in Scotland for 6 years, both led to my interest in the topic of this study and influenced my selection of research locations. In this Chapter, I have explained the rationale for my selection of research methods that would serve the purpose of this investigation most effectively; to explore the links between policy

aspirations and teachers' perspectives as to its feasibility and constraints that are inherent in the policy implementation.

I understand that my background from outside the Scottish context may allow me to have fresh eyes as I analyse the data and shape outcomes, and may allow me to be less subjective than a researcher who is deeply embedded in the Scottish context. However, I also need to be aware that my previous position as a Modern Language teacher in a Chinese University may bring with it assumptions and preconceptions that may influence my data analysis. For example, the purpose of Modern Languages education in a Chinese University has a focus that is employment oriented. However, this might not necessarily be such a strong feature in teaching Modern Languages in primary schools. In this respect, any bias from such assumptions could be reduced.

4.10 Validity, Reliability and Dependability

Producing valid and reliable research instruments is a significant concern in all educational research. They are important features in assessing and establishing the quality of a study (Bryman, 2008). Validity is a condition in social research concerned with '*a demonstration that a particular instrument in fact measures what it purports to measure*' (Cohen et al., 2007).

In this study, the semi-structured interviews were carried out with two key actors in Modern Languages policy making and implementation processes; the policy maker and the practitioner. Their professionalism in the area of this inquiry can largely increase the validity of the data. In addition, in this study, *Appendix 6* provides a sample of data analysis from the transcripts so the reader can judge the accuracy of the claims.

The reliability of the instrument concerns of the extent to which the measurement instrument will produce the same results in repeated trials (Brown & Rodgers, 2002). Due to this consideration, I improved the reliability of the data by inviting interviewed participants to comment on the interview transcripts in their own language (Scottish participants with English transcripts, Shanghai participants with Mandarin transcripts).

In terms of dependability, the interpretation and translation of the coding scheme might be flawed, which is attributed to my solo work on the coding process with 11 interview transcripts. This would affect the validity of this inquiry. In order to address and minimise the effect of this issue, multiple readings of the text, both by myself and proof readers who are highly proficient in Mandarin and English were performed to ensure that coded utterances are consistent throughout the texts. In this consideration, in the process of interpreting the Shanghai participants' interview transcripts, I invited another two PhD researchers, who are highly proficient in Mandarin and English, to interpret the same data with me. This was required owing to the data in this study having been collected in two languages.

In line with this, as discussed above, during the classroom observation, I was also the solo observer in the classrooms. In this sense, I could be at risk of accusations of bias or misinterpretation during the observation process. In order to remedy this limitation, I analyse the observed data in comparison with other evidence — either the teachers' explanations or previous research evidence.

4.11 Data collection

As noted earlier, the data collection for this inquiry was conducted in two research sites using the same collecting process: semi-structured interviews with policy makers and Case Study Schools teachers from the two research locations. The order of data collection in the Case Study Schools was first classroom observation followed-up by semi-structured interviews.

4.12 Data analysis

After collection of the data, I began to analyse the data. Analysing the data is critically important as it allowed me to use the collected information to address the research questions. It also could help me to reach some tentative conclusions about the problem under investigation (Creswell, 2014). In order to fulfil the aim of this particular study with the data collected, I carry out the process of data analysis in three steps:

- preparing and becoming familiar with the data;
- coding the data and creating categories,

- verifying and representing the data (Denscombe, 2007).

The following sections explain each steps in depth.

4.12.1 Preparing and becoming familiar with the data

Once the data were collected through interviews and classroom observations, I began transcribing the audio tapes to generate the data to be analysed. As Creswell (2014) suggests, reading the transcripts in their entirety numerous times can help to obtain a general sense of the data before coding it. For this study, I read the transcripts and the observation notes, and listened to the tapes on several occasions in order to be familiar with the information provided in the interviews and from the classroom observation. Due to the nature of the study and the small number of participants in this study, I coded the data manually. To do this, I printed out all interviews, double line spaced with a large margin on the right hand-side to give space to write notes.

4.12.2 Coding

Merriam (2009, p.173) defines the term ‘coding’ as the process of assigning some form of shorthand designation to various aspects of the data so that specific pieces of the data can be easily retrieved. To do this, I used the Research Questions (see section 4.2), Interview Themes (see section 4.7.3.1) and the Interview Question Protocol (Appendix 5) as references to guide the coding of the interviews and observation data. I coded the data by line, sentence and sometimes by word. This process of coding is called line-by-line coding which is important for building themes and categories (Flick, 2013). In this process, I adopted the constant comparative method, where I firstly compared teacher data with teacher data to find similarities and differences. This was followed by a process where I summarised these data and labelled each summary with a theme based on the contents of the data. The same process was also undertaken when coding Chinese policy makers’ interviews, as there were two policy makers from China involved in this study. Then a further set of comparisons was undertaken across teachers and policy makers, combining similarities and differences of those created themes. I then summarised these themes with a

sentence. This aims to describe the meaning accurately based on the actual language of the participants. (see examples in Appendix 6).

As has been discussed in the section 4.4.1 *research design*. The research design for this study recognised two phases, the *Policy Initiative Phase* and the *Policy Implementation Phase*. In the process of analysing the data, the *Policy Initiative Phase* related to the policy makers' interviews, while the *Policy Implementation Phase* related to the teachers' interviews and observations. In this regard, three main headings were used to code data: *perspectives from policy makers*, *perspectives from teachers* and *observations of policy in practice in schools in Shanghai and Scotland*. I then used sub-headings such as: *Reasons for choosing a particular Language in Primary Schools*; *Reflection on early age Second Language* (Appendix 6 & 7).

4.12.3 Categorising

After coding all the data, I assembled generally related themes into a category for ease of data management and relevance. I then reviewed the extracts summarised under the theme headings to decide which were most relevant to this study and how they were connected to each other. I also reviewed the interviews and summarised headings from the observations (for an example see Table 4), looking for any overlaps or repetitions, and combined them in order to construct a report (see more examples in Appendix 7).

Pedagogies and assessment in Scotland and Shanghai				
Pedagogies	In both Scotland and Shanghai		The process and methods used to introduce Language (similar to L1 Learning process) (both interview and observed data) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• First stage ---- Mainly cultural items to make children fall in love with the language. Listen to words, sing songs, memorizing and mimicking words and phrases and pronunciation.• Second stage ---- back to the spelling of these words and phrases• Third stage ----- using the words and phrase	
	Differences	Familiarity with the language policy	Scotland	All teachers read the 1+2 language policy and were familiar with the content.
			Shanghai	No teachers read the policy document.
		Support for pedagogy	Scotland	Sound file and video clips provided by Education Scotland
			Shanghai	The two case study schools have text books. (Observation data) Public Model Lesson observation (Interviewed data)
Assessment	Similarities		Informal assessment. Assessment is intended to support teaching (both interview and observed data)	
	Differences	Scotland	All teachers support the argument that assessment supports learning	
		Shanghai	Teachers complain that benchmarks and informal assessment make parents panic because there is no consistent assessment system from primary school to high school	

Table 4: An example of categorising

Once the above data analysis process had been completed, I moved on to the stage of presenting the data. The data collected from teachers and policy makers will be presented separately rather than collectively. This order of presentation is to remain consistent with the design of this study; a design that views policy makers and teachers as two distinct voices in both the *Policy Initiative Phase* and in the *Policy Implementation Phase*.

4.13 Summary

This Chapter has outlined the methodology of this study. The Research Questions and my philosophical world view are considered, followed by a discussion of the research design and participant selection. This Chapter also has discussed the justification of the adoption of research instruments to conduct this investigation. The Chapter has also discussed ethics considerations, reflexivity and the validity, reliability and dependability of the data collection in this study. Finally, the Chapter also provides information on the data collection and analysis processes. As a researcher, this chapter has helped me to improve my research skills and reflect on my data. In the next three Chapters, I will present the research results and discussion in detail.

Chapter Five: Results (A) The policy initiatives in Modern Languages in primary education

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, the methodology of the study has been outlined. I adopted a qualitative research design, with two phases to fulfil the research goals:

- Policy Initiative Phase ---- in relation to policy makers' responses to the purpose and teachers' provision for embedding Modern Languages in primary education.
- Policy Implementation Phase ---- in relation to teachers' perspectives and practice in implementing Modern Languages.

I used semi-structured interviews and classroom observations as research tools to collect data from policy makers and teachers. I then used the content analysis technique, which mainly focuses on description (Morgan, 2007), to categorise themes from the semi-structured interviews data. In this chapter and the following two chapters (Chapter Six and Chapter Seven), the findings that emerged from the field work will be presented in three themes related to the above two phases:-

Result (A) Perspectives from policy makers ----

- Policy makers' responses to the rationale for including Modern Languages in primary education.
- Policy makers' responses to the implementation of Modern Languages, particularly regarding teachers' professional development.

Result (B) Perspectives from teachers ----

- Teachers' responses to the inclusion of Modern Languages in primary education.

- Teachers' responses regarding professional development.

Result (C) Observations of policy in practice in schools in Shanghai and Scotland ----

- Observed data on the similarities and differences in approaches to the teaching of Modern Languages teaching in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai.

Result (A) derives from the *Policy Initiative Phase* of the research design; Result (B) and Result (C) derive from the *Policy Implementation Phase*. This chapter will first present Result (A) – Perspectives from policy makers. Chapter Six and Chapter Seven will present Result (B) and Result (C). In these two chapters, the interview and observation evidence from the participant practitioners will be presented to shed light on their beliefs about Modern Languages practice in primary education. The relationship between *policy* and *practice* will also be explored by comparing and contrasting participant policy makers' responses and teachers' responses and practice.

5.2 The rationale for the inclusion of Modern Languages in Shanghai primary education - policy makers

A common theme emerged in interviews with both members of the policy community in China. Both the policymakers, one from Beijing (P1) and one from Shanghai (P2), were clear that the views expressed in interviews were their own as government officers. They did not claim to speak on behalf of the government.

5.2.1 Looking at the big picture – increasing multi-cultural awareness and influence

The first point raised by P1 when asked about the rationale for Chinese Modern Languages education, was that China as a nation is eager to participate with many other countries in a wide range of broad communication across the areas of culture, economics, politics, and education. In the extract (1) below, P1 unreservedly stated that the most important reason for the inclusion of Modern Languages is to serve the state: Modern Languages education meets the needs of the nation - her leading word was 'China'. This indicated that Modern Languages education is not only a

subject for children's intrinsic educational improvement but, more importantly, a strategy for national development:

(1) China as a nation is very keen to sustain a connection with other countries...in the areas of culture, economy, politics, and education. There are lots of multinational corporations in China, and we have much business in other countries. And many Chinese young people like to pursue a better education overseas.

It is interesting to note that, in extract (1), P1 referred to 'culture' first, as the most important area to which English Language education can contribute, following up with reference to the economy and relevant economic examples. This inconsistency in her statements might be explained as follows. It is general common sense that one could instinctively relate the learning of other languages to interaction with different cultures. In addition, it is clear that learning other languages, in particular English in Shanghai, serves broad communication purposes that are often financially motivated. This may be why she could recall easily examples such as cooperation among international corporations, rather than supporting her initial reference to culture with some examples of cultural communication. Her final comment on the drive to promote learning English is that it would serve as a route to pursue overseas education. This might be related to her knowledge that my own current status is that of an international student.

P1 then gave another justification for Modern Languages education related to China's policy of developing national *Soft Power* — a term first created by Nye (2004), which means to use a persuasive approach to shape international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence:

(2) And we also have Confucius Institutions around the world to improve communication and cooperation with local people ... and to develop a good relationship with China. We need them to hear Chinese voices through the languages that they can understand. We call this soft power development. For the development of hard power, we absorb technologies from other countries in their languages and turn these to the invention of our own products, such as electronic devices and military technology.

It is undeniable that increasing *Soft Power* is a highlighted philosophical strategy in Chinese politics for the development of China. President Xi Jinping, the top politician of the Communist Party of China, announces on many occasions that *'we should increase China's soft power, present a good Chinese narrative, and better communicate China's messages to the world'* (Chinese Government, 2017). Nye (2004) suggested that the development of *Soft Power* heavily depends on the actor's reputation within the international community. P1's words, in extract (2), for example *'we need them to hear Chinese voices through the languages that they can understand'*, indicate to us that Modern Languages could serve as a medium to ensure China's interaction with the world and could help to achieve political purposes. The establishment of *'Confucius Institutes'* around the world is a specific reference by P1 which indicates that China intends to encourage such communication educationally and culturally.

Nonetheless, it is unclear here whether P1 had any evidence in mind when she linked Modern Languages education to the national 'soft power' development. Since P1 gave the example of *'Confucius Institutions'* first, then went on to use the phrase *'Soft Power'*, we could infer that the phrase *'Soft Power'* might just happen to have occurred to her while she was making her point. Or she might simply have adopted the phrase *'Soft Power'* because it is in common use. *'Soft Power'* and *'Hard Power'* are a pair of phrases frequently used by politicians and by Chinese mass-media. And she did also, soon after in extract (2), use the phrase *'Hard Power'* in suggesting other rationales for Modern Languages education contributing to the development of China in military and technological areas.

P1's words in extract (2), together with her later remark *'We expect more Chinese young people to go to developed countries, such as the UK, the USA, to learn either advanced ideologies or latest technologies from them and come back to serve China's development'*, present China as a nation which is interested in its role in the world, adopting an outward-looking gaze, learning from and wishing to influence thinking in other countries, chiefly to serve domestic development.

Alongside P1's nationalism and her recognition that the large Chinese population has many needs and demands, she continued to display a vision of China expressly intending to secure a role on

‘international’ stages. She saw Modern Languages, especially English Language, as the best tool to fulfil this aim:

(3) For the nation, there is a need to play a role on international stages and make a distinctive Chinese contribution. To make people around the world understand China and Chinese people. We need to speak the language they understand first, which mostly is English.

Instead of stating that the purpose of Chinese *Soft Power* development is to use that power to achieve something politically, as *Soft Power* usually seeks to do, such as shaping international relations, P1, in extract (3), presents China as a nation which is keen to embrace the world and to make a ‘Chinese contribution’ to it, encouraging friendly relations with other countries. To ‘*make people understand China*’ brings out a tacit sense that the Chinese Government recognises that Chinese culture and values are distinctively different in many ways from other cultures, especially the mainstream culture in Western countries. Within this increasingly globalised world, ‘make people understand China’ echoes the national win-win strategic approach to diplomacy and development of China (Chinese Government, 2017), by developing a positive image and exploring deep cooperation with other countries through significant communications. In this regard, she presents China in general, and Shanghai in particular, as a harmonious and open region projecting a positive international reputation to other countries.

English Language education in China is seen as the way to improve *Soft Power* as a nation (Wilson, 2008; Zhang, 2012; Yang, 2015), exchanging culture and building up business cooperation worldwide. In this sense, China is taking advantage of globalization and of the English Language to spread her culture and values and business internationally. For example, the establishment of the Confucius Institute for Scotland in 2006 was to help develop effective Sino-Scottish business, cultural and academic links. *Soft Power* is a type of hegemony in disguise, but if the state regime is functioning very well, it is no longer perceived as tangible power, but rather as the normal state of things.

Accordingly, P1 in extract (4) and P2 in extract (5) both spoke positively of the success of holding major international events in China and Shanghai:

(4) China's successful joining of the WTO (World Trade Organization) in 2001 and its holding the Olympic Games in 2008 depended on years of preparation founded on compulsory nationwide English Language education.

(5) if not for the years of English Language Education, we would not even have been able to volunteer to support one-off international events like the Shanghai Expo in 2010.

These statements by P1 and P2 echo Xu's (2014) work in which English Language is identified not only as an important medium in safeguarding the success of these Chinese aspirations but also as a bridge across the cultural gap that can increase mutual understanding between China and rest of the world, in order to protect a sustainable, enriching and understanding global environment.

5.2.2 Intrinsic educational benefit --- 'It is okay if children are not fluent in the language after schooling'

The *Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for English Language* (Shanghai Government, 2004: p. 6) encourages schools and teachers to produce a friendly English language environment for children, for example, to create 'School-Based English Broadcast' and organise 'English Language Events'. In line with this, P1 placed development of multi-cultural awareness and interest in language learning over the language itself as the rationale for Modern Languages education in primary schools.

P1 noted that there is a limit to the multi-language environment in China, which means most young people might well not use school Modern Languages in future life. But she believes that Modern Languages education is not just for utilitarian purposes, but also for intrinsic educational purposes for young Chinese. She stated, 'You can't expect that all children will use everything they learned [in school] in their future lives' in extract (6). Rather, she believed that it is important to expose all children to Modern Languages education, which would help to develop children's interest in

languages or awareness of a multi-cultural world, even if they will not themselves use the languages formally in adult life. An appreciation of the language itself or of a multi-cultural ethos may then incentivise later uptake of foreign languages:

(6) I feel sorry, but at the same time I think It is okay if children are not fluent in their use of the Language after schooling. You can't expect children to use everything they learned [in school] in their future lives. What we expect here is to entitle them to the experience of the language at an early age, when children are like sponges. And they can foster an affection for languages learning or an awareness of multi-culturalism. And hopefully, they would then like to continue language study in the future.

Additionally, in extract (6), it is noteworthy that, unlike the earlier deterministic tone for the conduct of Modern Languages education, P1 implied that 'it is okay if children are not fluent in the language after schooling'. She regarded the study of Modern Languages as a means of knowing other cultures, with the clear inference that China, including Shanghai, is mostly a 'mono-cultural environment' (extract 7), which makes it difficult for children to access a multi-language environment. This might appear a controversial judgment. P1 did agree tacitly that, while compulsorily every child is entitled to Modern Languages as an intensive discipline from the early years of primary education, the government did not have an intention to make China a bilingual or multi-lingual country, nor expect that every young Chinese will be able to use the Modern Language in their future work and life:

(7) We live in a mostly monolingual environment, mainly Mandarin. Our children have less opportunities to access other cultures. They can have ideas about other cultures and varieties of the world through languages learning.

It is important to observe here that, although, traditionally, Modern Languages education – in particular English Language in Shanghai -is spoken of highly in Chinese society, Chinese children do not perform impressively in Foreign Language skills. Liao and Wolff's (2010) research showed that Modern Languages education, especially English Language learning, has very low cost-effectiveness, which means that, given the investment of ten years of education in English, the initiative has had very little impact on the English Language achievement of young Chinese. As

has been reviewed in Chapter One (section, 1.4), the ‘Mute English’ phenomenon is the stage that most Chinese English Language learners arrive at after years of English Language learning in schools (Liao & Wolff, 2010, p. 23).

When it was suggested that most children will not use Modern Languages at all in their future life, despite learning it for years, P1 noted, in extract (8), that it is difficult to define who has a language talent in early years or who will be the language specialist, or will use it at all in the future. She explained that it is always beneficial to expose children to knowledge of different languages in order to make possible the chance of opening up their minds to its further study as they mature. This belief could be attributed to the traditional Chinese ideological conviction that the more skills you learn in early years, the more routes that will ‘lead you to Rome’ when you grow up. This reflects the Chinese tradition of a strong commitment to learning, an idea that is still powerful amongst young learners in China today. As has been previously suggested by Wolff (2010), English in the curriculum of Chinese primary schools may not aim to promote children’s communication skills, but to keep them busy as they are warehoused awaiting an expanded job market that can accommodate them:

(8) We never know which children have talent in which subject, and we never know what kind of life children will have. What we know is that it is always good to provide them with more opportunities to access knowledge and to broaden their views and open their minds....we cannot kill children’s chances to learn more at their best age for learning by saying, oh you maybe won’t use this in the future, so don’t learn it now.

Apart from the long-term benefit to national and individual development, P1 and P2 showed, in extracts (9) and (10), no hesitation about whether we should have Modern Languages in the curriculum at all. Rather, they argued in favour of the view that Modern Languages education is a vital and established part of the whole package of contemporary curriculum domains. It is implied, from P1 and P2’s perspectives, that Modern Languages education has been welcomed by the Chinese people for generations. The continuity of current Modern Languages education with long-confirmed appreciation of the subject implies that people see the benefits of learning languages much as they see the benefits of learning other subjects like Mathematics or Chinese:

(9) Second Language has been the established subject since my father's generation. It has benefits and I don't think anyone would question.... whether we should have Second Language education or no. You know it is part of the whole package of education.

----- P1

(10) ...second Language learning is not a 'brand new' theme in Chinese Education. We have a longstanding tradition of learning second languages...

----- P2

In this regard, we can assume, for most children in Shanghai, Modern Languages education in primary schools is indeed purely for their intrinsic educational benefits. Even so, we see a consistent pressure to learn Modern Languages, English Language in particular, and high expectations to speak the language fluently amongst Chinese young people today (Pan, 2015). This might be largely due to the popularity of this language. Further discussion of this issue will be presented with teachers' responses in Chapter Six (section 6.2)

Rather than worrying about the possible contradiction between the utilitarian and humanist educational justifications for Modern Languages, P1 turned the focus to the effectiveness of teaching Modern Languages. In extract (11), we can see that evidence to suggest the apparently low effectiveness of Modern Languages educational outputs, or the argument that there are few opportunities for most Chinese people to use Modern Languages in their future lives, have not weakened P1's support for Modern Languages in the curriculum. Instead, they have strengthened her desire to improve pedagogy in order to teach Modern Languages more effectively.

(11) I see what you mean here, our children do not perform well in these foreign languages after years of hard working supposedly learning them. But this should be a challenge to improve our pedagogy, rather than arguing that it be dropped because not all children learning it will use it in the future.

It is well documented that the consensus assumption of 'younger is better' regarding learning English prevails in China (Nunan, 2003) and we have acknowledged that the Modern Languages education in Shanghai primary schools starts from Primary Year 1. I therefore sought to explore

P1's views on whether starting Modern Languages in Primary 1 is a reflection of the *Critical Age Hypothesis* of language learning.

Surprisingly, both P1 and P2 recognised that this was not the view held by the National Ministry of Education or Shanghai Ministry of Education. Rather, in the following extracts (12) and (13), P1 and P2 argued that starting Modern Languages in primary schools from Year 1 is an evidence-based policy founded on years of schools' piloting the work, as well as on a sound scientific understanding of children's development of language cognition.

(12) If children have a target language environment, for example they speak the target language at home or occasionally, personally I then agree with 'the earlier, the better.' idea. If they don't, we should teach in accordance with what we know from research on children's development of language awareness...

----- P1

(13) We launched Language Education from Primary 1 in the pilot schools in 1999, and it worked very well. We then fully implemented Language Education from P1 in all Shanghai's schools based on this evidence.

-----P2

Despite this, it is noteworthy that P1 did suggest to me that '*lowering the starting age of Modern Language education is in accordance with people's (parents and children) needs*', which indicated that early starting of English Language education is positively driven by a range of public needs. Further light will be shed on this issue in the discussion in Chapter Six (section 6.2) drawing on data from teachers'.

Nevertheless, P1 did suggest, in extract (13), that, for children who live in a Modern Languages immersion environment, an earlier start would give them an advantage in Modern Languages acquisition, especially in building up a native-like second language proficiency and pronunciation. According to research studies (e.g.: Dufour, et al., 2014; Silverberg & Samuel, 2004; Sundara & Polka, 2008; Samuel & Larraza, 2015), younger Modern Languages starters appear to acquire

pronunciation which is different to that of their mother tongues more easily. They easily acquire precise pronunciation in early years when the habits of first language acquisition are less firmly established (Cook, 1999). Further discussion of this issue will be presented with teachers' responses in Chapter Six (6.2).

(13) Personally, I do think that little children can easily speak the language fluently and pick up native-like fluency and pronunciation, and not mix different languages. Even when sometimes they mix them, they are more likely to manage to tell the differences more quickly than older children.

P1's highlighting of native-like second language proficiency and pronunciation in this extract indicates that the Government executives expect children to learn Modern Languages in the way they learn their mother tongue - she argues that children do '*not mix different languages*'. This idea also receives positive support in *Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for Primary Schools English Language* (Shanghai Government, 2004, p. 5), which specifies that English Language teachers should '*balance*' the relationship between '*language learning*' and '*language acquisition*' in English Language classes. This is a point made twice in the document, with an emphasis on schools using updated teaching materials and creating a native-like language atmosphere. This indicates that the Shanghai Government does appear to expect children to acquire the two languages the same time.

However, if this is the tacit expectation of the Shanghai education executives, the way to make it feasible is only if primary schools can create a bilingual or immersion, or partial immersion, target language context to deliver the usual curricular activities in a Modern Language (Cummins 1991; Bialystock 2008; Johnstone & McKinstry, 2008; Crichton & Templeton, 2010a). However, the monolingual classroom setting of Shanghai primary schools is different from those of bilingual or immersion contexts - children are taught a limited repertoire of expressions by language teachers who are mostly non-native English Language speakers; and the time spent on Modern Languages is restricted to 70 minutes per week for Primary 1 and 2 and 140-175 minutes for Primary 3 to 5.

With regard to this situation, there seems to be no indication in the Shanghai curriculum that English Language should be delivered by teachers through a wider holistic pedagogy; rather, it is still being delivered as an advanced disciplinary expertise with scheduled time periods. P1's replies

implied that implementation of English as a subject in primary schools serves two purposes: on the one hand, to take advantage of the critical learning period of language acquisition identified with early years; and, on the other, to preserve a more traditional mode of learning based on books and on instruction and consistent with other subjects in the curriculum such as Mathematics and Chinese.

In addition to this, from my viewpoint, the English Language abilities of teachers are surely the key to fulfilling the Shanghai Government's expectations for the whole endeavour. If there is a lack of suitably qualified staff to deliver the language effectively and contribute to a target language speaking environment, English Language teaching in Shanghai will be limited to mainly traditional modes of teaching with books. This is an easier and safer way to teach the language than to create a native-like language environment to help children to acquire the language unconsciously, a scenario about which teachers might have only limited ideas. This issue, and the ambiguities associated with it, will be further interrogated in Chapter Six (section 6.3) and Chapter Seven (section 7.3.3.2) in relation to the evidence from participant teachers' responses and from observation of teachers' pedagogy.

5.2.3 English Language Education as a way of making and keeping Shanghai prosperous

Both P1 and P2's responses conveyed a consensus that Modern Languages education is a key tool in seeking and maintaining national and individual development in the global environment. Shanghai, in particular, requires English Language as the only compulsory second language in the primary schools. This confirms the major purposes underlying Modern Languages education in Shanghai. P2 explained, in extract (14), that English Language is seen as a practical gateway for young people to the world.

(14) English Language is a must-have language tool for children in this global informational era. Children need to gain knowledge and exchange information in the world, and the English language is their passport.

P2 also provided a summary rationale for the priority role of English Language in Shanghai by saying, 'the geographical factor makes Shanghai an international city, and makes it essential that

young people in Shanghai know the English Language’. Though he did not provide further examples or explanation for this observation, we can infer that the ‘*geographical*’ factor means Shanghai itself, as a port city, endowed with many natural advantages in transportation and in wider features of global cooperation, such as culture and business. P2 had a clear vision of Shanghai as an outward-facing ‘international’ city intending to welcome people from all over the world. Therefore, from P2’s perspective, command of English Language, currently the most widely used language in the world, is a ‘must’ for the young people of Shanghai to make the city prosperous and to keep it prosperous.

All of the above served to create a clear sense that the participant policy makers in this study have a clear vision of Shanghai retaining and enlarging its international status through the English Language. However, language is not culturally neutral, and itself will eventually serve as an introduction to a variety of wider areas such as culture and literature, and Shanghai may become more influenced by both English Language and culture in the next 10 years. When this question was raised, P2 was reluctant to articulate this as a future vision:

(15) For now, English education in Shanghai has no sign of this phenomenon.

Likewise, P1 shows a similar reluctance to consider this as a vision for the future language environment in Shanghai, in extract (16), indicating that their focus is on Primary Schools English Education, which contains only ‘baby’ English:

(16) At the Primary School stage, we don’t consider this issue, because the language is only baby English and some aspects of culture.

It was not clear if both participant policy makers really believed what they were saying or whether they were using a face-saving strategy to cover the absence of consideration of this issue when designing the policy. From my view, their avoidance of the vision of a possible scenario where the attainment of English Language users in Shanghai would soar may derive from a lack of confidence in children’s English Language outcomes, related to the widespread recognition of less

than entirely positive English Language results amongst Chinese young people. Here is the paradox: both participant policy makers support in every way possible English Language education in primary schools, but do not believe in the possibility of, or prepare for, successful English Language education.

As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7), many previous studies by Chinese scholars, perhaps in line with the mind-set expecting weak performance in English Language learning amongst Chinese people, focus on the importance of English Language education and the effectiveness of English Language teaching (Rao, 2002; Pan, 2015), rather than considering whether raising the status of English Language and culture might have an influence on the status of the mother tongue and home culture.

Nonetheless, it is worth remembering the previously discussed threat to local dialects from compulsory learning and speaking of Mandarin (Chapter Two, section 2.7.1). It is said that the Shanghai dialect is among those dialects threatened by Mandarin. It was reported by the Shanghai Statistics Bureau (2014) that Shanghai residents now use Mandarin more frequently in their daily lives. A survey of 1,000 Shanghai residents supported this claim, showing that 97% of respondents could speak Mandarin, while only 80% could speak both Mandarin and the Shanghai dialect.

In this regard, it seems disappointing that both participant policy makers did not appear to consider that perspective as they developed the vision for the promotion of English Language, and English Language only, in primary schools. What Mandarin has done to local dialects may be a vision of the impact of English Language on Mandarin. Since a language or a dialect cannot be resurrected, its loss may be accompanied by the loss of its culture and customs, and its way of interpreting the world through its language (Harmer, 2015). So it is important to keep a focus on diversity of cultures and languages, especially in this globalised world. If English is the only language to be learnt, it will bring an intellectual disaster to language diversity (Crystal, 2003).

5.3 Provision and issues surrounding English Language in primary schools in Shanghai - policy makers

As discussed in the last section, teachers' English Language ability is the key to fulfilling the Shanghai Government's expectations for the whole endeavour in English Language education in primary schools. This section looks at policy makers' interview data on the provisions for the teaching of Modern Languages and the recurring questions surrounding this in primary schools in Shanghai.

It is noteworthy to remember that there is in fact no English Language proficiency requirement for teachers who teach English Language in primary schools in Shanghai (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2011). P2 was questioned about the professional qualifications and the English Language proficiency of the teachers in Shanghai primary schools. He remained optimistic, insisting, in extract (17), that 'all' teachers are qualified to teach the English Language course at the primary stage:

(17) All teachers have the ability to teach to the needs of the Shanghai Curriculum. To be a teacher in primary schools they are required to hold the Normal College degree and Teacher Qualification certificate. And one-year induction program to help them to fit in school teaching practice...and there is continuing in-service training and support.

Firstly, we should notice that P2's confidence, in extract (17), was undoubtedly attributable to the fact that the Modern Language is English, one to which teachers have been exposed in multiple contexts.

Secondly, P2's confidence was also derived from the coherent teacher education system in Shanghai for being an English Language teacher. This is echoed in the Shanghai Teaching Qualification documentation (Shanghai Ministry of Education, 2001), where it is stated that, in order to be a Primary School English Language teacher, one must have:

- 1) A degree from the College program, which generally requires a CET 4 English Language certificate.
- 2) A *National Teaching Qualification* for Primary Education, which requires both teachers' theoretical understanding and practical school experience.
- 3) A compulsory one-year teacher induction program that every novice teacher needs to take before registering as a newly qualified teacher. The program involves classroom teaching practice, and professional development — development in school subjects (see detail in Chapter Two, section 2.7).

It is noteworthy here that Pinter (2017) suggests that English is best and most effectively taught by teachers who ideally have a level of English at least at CEFR B2. However, we cannot judge a teacher's language proficiency just on the basis of these certificates, because there is no research comparing the language proficiency of CEFR B2 and CET 4. In addition to this, a College program does not necessarily involve English Language training for these future primary school teachers. Moreover, the National Teaching Qualification for Primary Education does not contain a teachers' language proficiency requirement (Shanghai Teacher Certification Examination, 2018). So the latest formal English course these future teachers had completed could have been in their secondary school. Hence, P2's observation that '*these requirements secure a qualified language teacher*' could mean that he believed that what they have learned up to their leaving secondary school is sufficient for teachers to teach English language.

However, it is well documented that many Chinese school leavers or even university undergraduates who have passed CET 4 (College English Test) lack listening skills, writing skills and speaking skills, and subsequently have anxieties about learning English (He, 2010; Wolff, 2010; Pan, 2015). It might be dangerous if such teachers had a poor quality English Language experience, e.g. having the *Mute English* problem themselves - and therefore could not be reasonably expected to teach the language effectively. After all, during the past four decades, compulsory English Language education in Shanghai schools, from Primary 1 up to leaving school (around age 17) has not been a resounding success. If the school leavers described at the start of this paragraph become teachers of English Language in primary schools, it is questionable whether they have the necessary experience to reach a high enough professional level to teach it well.

Despite this, both policy makers, in extracts (18) and (19), maintained optimism, insisting that *all* teachers can teach English Language in school to meet the requirement of the curriculum with various kinds of assistance through professional development at National-, Municipal-, District- and school-levels as described in Chapter Two (section 2.6).

(18) We have Municipal, District and schools-based Teacher Association Groups, which regularly offer training and model lessons observations, etc. to teachers. Teachers are obliged to take a certain number of training courses.

----- *Policy maker 2*

(19) there is variety of training and support from national level to school level...

----- *Policy maker 1*

P1 and P2's confidence might be also derived from various types of training that a teacher must experience during his/her teacher career. It is worth remembering that, as has been discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7), all teachers in Shanghai are required to participate in a series of formal pre-service and in-service experiences.

In addition, there are many opportunities for Shanghai English Language teachers to engage in discussions and learning on matters of languages and pedagogy with experienced teachers and peers. As was explained in Chapter two (section 2.7), the various levels of *Teaching-Research Groups* contribute (municipal, district, and school levels) to a shared professional culture in sharing understandings of primary English Language teaching goals, methods, problems and solutions.

However, it should be noted here that hierarchies may exist in a *Teaching and Researching Group* itself: though it is intended to be collective and collaborative, in reality the opportunity for some teachers (particularly junior teachers) to be innovative in their teaching practice might be reduced. For example, teachers do not want to risk challenging existing assumptions about knowledge and pedagogy that other teachers in the *Teaching-Research Groups* have agreed. Thus internal

hierarchies in the *Teaching-Research Groups* appear (Liang, Kidwai & Zhang, 2016). For example, junior teachers may not want to risk disagreeing or arguing with senior teachers if there is a difference of opinion. So we can infer that teachers are likely to compromise and teach in the way that been discussed in the *Teaching and Research Group* meeting to avoid wrong steps. In Chapter Six there will be further discussion of this issue, looking at participant teachers' responses on the provision they have accessed.

As mentioned above, Shanghai has consistently shown clear commitment and determination in relation to teaching English Language in primary schools, with various kinds of support for teachers. The participant policy maker, P1, said that she believed that English in Shanghai is a means of fulfilling the government's intention to improve national *Soft Power*; and that it is one of many skills to which young people are entitled as they are warehoused awaiting an expanded job market that can accommodate them. Both participant policy makers also showed full confidence in teachers' abilities to fulfil the government's expectations. However, the lack of English qualifications to ensure suitably qualified staff to deliver the language effectively might undermine the government's expectations of English Language outcomes. This issue will be further interrogated with participant teachers' responses in Chapter Six (section 6.3) and with observation evidence in Chapter 7 (section 7.3).

5.4 The rationale for the inclusion of Modern Languages in Scotland in primary education -- policy makers

Unlike policymakers from Beijing (P1) and from Shanghai (P2), who made clear that they did not speak on behalf of the government, the Scottish policy maker, P3, made no clear claim as to who his opinions represented, himself as a government officer or the government.

5.4.1 Political parties' recognition of the markets' needs

Scott's (2015) study of the downward trend in ML uptake and attainment suggests that periods of growth and decline in Modern Languages in Scotland are the result of the fluctuating nature and quality of Scottish politico-educational governance in the area. This picture of government attitude

was corroborated in the interview with the policy maker from Scotland (P3). In extract (20), he unreservedly gave SNP (Scottish National Party) ambitions the first place in explaining the 2012 origins of the so-called *1+2 Approach* for languages - this is apparent in his use of that strong adverb ‘really’. It is noteworthy that the Scottish situation differs from that in China, where a centralized governance structure is led by only one Party, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). So when Chinese policy makers (P1 and P2) spoke of ‘Chinese government’, it meant ‘CCP’ as well. Scottish education, however, is guided by a partnership between government and other organisations. It is delivered collaboratively, with multiple governance levels working together to support each other in the overall education system. Thus, the SNP plays an important role to promote the *1+2 Approach*, but not the decisive one.

In accordance with this, P3 qualified his definite and exclusive reference to the SNP by suggesting that other political parties shared in a cross-party consensus on the main motivations for improved Modern Languages education in Scotland. The evidence to support this convergence of the political parties, according to his own words, was that there is a widespread recognition of the supposed disadvantages experienced by monolingual Scottish young people seeking to participate in the global market:

(20) I think really the driver was close to the Party, was from SNP. It was agreed by many political parties that our young people are not able to participate fully in the global market because of their lack of language skills. In 2011, with expertise from Education Scotland involved, as well as other languages agencies, to look at what we need to do to make sure that our young people have got an equal chance of becoming global citizens, of accessing the global business world properly.

P3’s words, in extract (20), in general echo what has been well documented, that the *1+2 Approach* is Scottish Government’s vision in promoting the learning of languages, as part of a policy to ensure that Scots are well equipped citizens of a multi-lingual, multi-cultural and globalised world (Scottish Government, 2012b). It can still be inferred that decisions in support of Modern Languages education reform in Scotland, ranging across the political parties, could derive more from a desire to serve market needs than other social benefits such as multi-cultural flourishing

or intrinsic educational benefits. This is suggested by P3's final reference in extract (20) to the expectation of young Scots 'accessing the global business world properly'.

In addition, Scotland has a long entrepreneurial history and this is strongly associated with a successful educational system. In extract (20), 'global' has been mentioned three times, from which emerges a sense that Scottish leaders acknowledge the continuing trend of globalisation, and, in the long-run, wish Scottish young people to operate successfully in the markets both inside and outside Scotland.

Moreover, while globalisation accords Scottish people the advantage of being native English speakers, Scottish government executives do also recognise that globalisation has made the English Language a lingua franca across European countries, which alters the sense of ownership of the language (Bianco, 2014b; Pan, 2015).

It is noteworthy that many Scottish businesses do recruit young managers with Modern Languages skills to enable them to work effectively in an international economy, but to be honest, it would often be easier for them to find young Europeans who have English in addition to their first language. Young Scots do not have the kind of language skills to compete with their European peers for these jobs; and so there could be a danger that Scottish young people would increasingly lose out on employment opportunities and ultimately this could have a negative impact on the UK's economy. This view was echoed when P3 repeatedly, in extract (20), indicated that Modern Languages education can provide Scottish young people with an 'equal chance of being global citizens', and later remarked again that young Scots could 'stand shoulder to shoulder with young people in Europe'.

In addition to this, in the extract below (21), P3 continued to explain a likely disadvantage for Scottish young people linked to market-oriented examples of the shortage of multi-lingual employees in local business, and the losses to the tourism industry caused by the lack of staff who have daily life multi-languages skills:

(21) Many of our businesses were saying if only we have staff that we can, say, somebody has a small amount German or some French or some Spanish.... you know there are huge tourist industries in Scotland; many visitors are from Germany. And we discovered that we have very few people who work in the tourist industries [with foreign language abilities]...like to be able to welcome people, to deal with problems, to be able to listen and understand and take phone calls. So we were missing out.

I failed to find dependable evidence from *VisitScotland* — Scotland's National Tourist Organisation — that they are short of or require multi-lingual staff, but P3's response in (21) did indicate his unhappiness that the popularity of the English Language, or English as a lingua franca, drags Scottish people into a passive situation, where the advantage of being native English speakers in the English dominated economic-globalised world could be abruptly lost in those areas of economic and social life where more than one language is needed.

Since the *1+2 Approach* aims to bring Scotland into line with other countries in Europe, P3 was also questioned about the possible influence that the recent Brexit decision - the withdrawal of the United Kingdom (UK) from the European Union (EU) market - may have on this initiative. He unreservedly stated firmly there ought not to be a negative impact of Brexit on European Modern Language education, insisting that, 'I would hope absolutely not. I don't think we would allow our (ML) curriculum to be closed down at all just because we decide that we are no longer in a single market'. In line with P3's words, I believe that the changing relationships with EU countries will make Scottish young people feel a strong need to improve their global competitiveness – being able to connect with people globally beyond English will be more vital than ever. Modern Languages competence is not just one tool in the box, but also provides a wide spectrum of other vital capabilities and attributes. Owing to the fact that the Brexit process is still ongoing, there has been as yet little study of the effect of Brexit on EU languages education in Scotland or on the status of European Languages in the UK. But Brexit makes the UK more vitally than ever need international awareness and skills, such as the ability to connect with people globally beyond English. A recent report about influence by the British Council states that the UK has reached a critical juncture for language learning and that investment in upgrading the nation's language skills is vital if the UK is to remain a globally connected nation (British Council, 2017). However, owing to the privileged status of English as the language of international communications and culture,

which language would be chosen to learn remains the key to fulfilling the UK's future ambition. In the same vein, though Scottish Government (2012b) includes French, German, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, Portuguese (Brazil), Arabic and Russian in the *1+2 Approach*, Scottish schools may have little clue about which Modern Languages are worth teaching to pupils. This issue will be further discussed with practitioners' responses in Chapter Six (section 6.3)

All of the above directs us to another driver of the *1+2 Approach* to languages, which is the prioritisation of humanistic educational justifications. These merit separate and careful consideration.

5.4.2 Intrinsic educational benefits -- Learn to learn a language

The documentation surrounding the *1+2 Approach* is very positive about the benefits of an early start to language learning (Education Scotland, 2015, p. 1), basing arguments on the 'considerable body of evidence which indicates that young children learn languages more easily than older learners' (Scottish Government, 2012b). In the previous literature reviews (Chapter Two, section 2.3), it is well documented that the study of Modern Languages provides opportunities for children to develop a meta-language to describe, compare and contrast features of their own language and the language they are learning. Understanding how language is formed at an early age enables pupils to become more articulate, with a greater understanding of how to use language effectively. A secure knowledge about language also supports learning of additional languages.

P3 provided an intrinsic educational rationale for Modern Languages education based on the advantage that learning a foreign language can bring to the improvement of the fundamental literacy skills in the mother tongue. In this conception, children not only learn about Modern Languages, but are also enabled in the classroom to make comparisons with their own mother tongues (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a):

(22) And also we got this huge impact on English on literacy skills as well. Learning second or third language can impact really positively on your English skills.

P3 had a strong basis on which to make the above comment (22), stemming mainly from his background as an experienced Modern Languages teacher now with formal responsibility for overseeing implementation of the *1+2 Approach*. However, the success of this purpose needs high language competence among teachers who are able to make links between languages, e.g., explore differences in sounds, orthography and structure in the Modern Languages and the mother language. In section 6.4 of Chapter Six, I will return to discussion of this issue with the Case Study School teachers' responses.

In extract (23) below, P3 indicated that embedding Modern Languages in primary schools, on these same assumptions, would somehow provide a foundation in language learning methods that children could build on when learning subsequent languages:

*(23) At the same time, to learn how to learn a language [emphasis added].
You know they are learning all the little bits of the language, and of course we
know that once you have learned your first foreign language, that is difficult.
But the subsequent language, like second one and a third, are easier.*

From a research point of view, P3 may be over-optimistic in arguing that learning a '*second one and a third, are easier*' after experience of first foreign language learning. Previous studies suggest that Second Language learning experience would only make learners more experienced and better equipped, but not ensure success more quickly or easily (De Angelis, 2007; De Bot & Jaensch, 2015).

It is also important to note here that the 'linguistic development' dimension for Scottish learners may not be so obvious if the language they are exposed to is Mandarin. Previous studies (Munoz, 2014) indicate to us that, if the Modern Language is systemically different from the children's mother tongue, they may not be able to compare and contrast the two languages. For example, in the observation of T6's classroom, in teaching Mandarin to Scottish children she made little attempt to compare and contrast the languages. This is because Mandarin and English belong to significantly different language families and have different phonological systems, in which *structure* is emphasised in English, while Mandarin focuses on *meaning*. Mandarin is a *tone*

language, which distinguishes words by the pitch (highness or lowness) of a phoneme sound, while English is a non-tonal language, which does not for the most part give a different word meaning to the sound. In this context, the strategy for learning Mandarin and English would be significantly different. Making links between the two languages could well cause confusion for children. I will discuss this issue further in Chapter Six (section 6.4) with the reference to teachers' responses.

In addition to the substance of the above claims (23), they were noteworthy, more broadly, for shedding light on the Scottish Government's expectation of the future language proficiency of young Scots. I received conflicting responses from P3 on this issue. On the one hand, P3 recognised the likelihood of most Scottish school leavers being unable to speak Modern Languages, by remarking 'they [the general pupil population] don't use the language. People who can use foreign languages to, e.g., hold a conference, would be foreign language graduates'. On the other hand, though, he expressed a need for Scotland as a nation to nurture young people who can use languages in business and other practical contexts straight after school:

(23) We were losing out as a nation because we won't be able to have our own home-grown people from the Scotland's schools who were able to say, yes I can take my place (in speaking a foreign language) in the business world straight from school.

There is therefore a tension or conflict that P3 conveys, in his argument that Modern Languages are most likely to be used by Modern Languages university graduates in relevant areas, but that young Scots ought to be capable of speaking that same language straight after school. The business reference points appear to suggest that there ought not to be a large language proficiency gap between people who are able to use the language 'in business' after leaving school and those university graduate specialists equipped to participate in a foreign language conference. Though this is not the domain explored in this study, it appears to be a highly unrealistic expectation of the current Scottish Modern Languages teaching structures.

5.4.2.1 Younger pupils' lack of inhibition'

Scotland's experiment with compulsory Modern Languages education up to 16 was not a resounding success and was subsequently abandoned when performance levels dropped and even fewer pupils opted to take the subject to more advanced post-16 levels (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a). The *1+2 Approach* aims to combat these perceived problems by serving as a gateway for encouraging young people's later formal Modern Languages course uptake through early immersion in a more open culture of second language use and experiment.

On the whole, there is little previous dependable evidence which suggests that starting an additional language at an early age will absolutely benefit attainment in secondary school. P3 argued that primary pupils (before age 12) are less inhibited than teenagers, which makes language implementation easier and smoother. He states that 'children see them (as) just playing and mimicking'.

However, it might be important to argue here, as has been discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.3), that, despite the evidence to suggest that younger starters learn languages differently to adults (Harmer, 2015), they perform no better than older Modern Languages starters, and even are slower at learning a Modern Language than older learners (Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b; Murphy, 2014). Recent research by Norbury (2016) on bilingual children indicates that children can acquire two languages at an early age and do not risk language impairment or language delay. But this conclusion emerges from evidence from bilingual children from immigrant families, who are likely to be exposed to two languages for significant amounts of time — at home and in school. Likewise, it is well-documented that the key factor in becoming a successful polyglot or bilingual person is a language immersion context, because younger children do not yet have well developed cognitive resources and so need massive amounts of exposure to the language to compensate (Larson-Hall, 2008; DeKeyser, 2012a; 2012b; Muñoz, 2006a; Murphy, 2014). However, this is not commonly the situation in Scottish schools, where the context is mainly monolingual. I will examine these criticisms in the context of teacher interviews and observed teaching in Chapter Six (section 6.4) and Chapter Seven (section 7.3)

5.4.2.2 Driving a languages revival in primary schools

Perhaps owing to P3's background as a Modern Languages teacher, he expressed, in extract (24), a strong desire to challenge the traditional curriculum in Scotland, which, from his perspective, does not normally give enough significance to Modern Languages. As he suggested, Modern Languages has often been seen as something 'odd' in the primary school curriculum:

(24) What I would like to see is that language learning is not an odd thing to do, not odd to teach. It is a normal part of everybody's curriculum

The 'everybody's curriculum' brings a tacit implication that Modern Language is 'odd', which might be attributable to its lower status by comparison with 'core' areas such as literacy, numeracy and STEM. This is, of course, not a new problem, but goes back to longstanding issues in the curriculum histories of many different Western countries (Block & Gray, 2016). It is interesting to note that P3 also indicated to me a possible future Scottish Government plan to shift Modern Languages education from 'odd' to 'normal' by gradually embedding improved Modern Languages awareness in initial teacher education in Scotland:

(25) As a government group, what we are looking at is we are trying to change the initial teacher education [to strengthen Modern Languages]... We hope they [student teachers] can understand that this is part and parcel of what you are going to do. You know, to be a classroom teacher in Primary school, you have to be able to teach a Modern Language.... And that really is for the future teacher.

P3 also raised an important issue about the popularity of the English Language in globalised mass media forms that are attractive to young people, such as music and film (Appendix 8). These play a key role in incentivising the learning of English across the world. This dominance of English in popular culture adds to the sense of 'oddness' in learning a foreign language in the Scottish context. P3, in extract (26), dwells on the difficulty, more generally, of motivating the *1+2 Approach* for

children and young people, which can prevent them from developing a long-term vision of the benefits of Modern Languages in their future lives:

(26) So sometimes it is difficult to get into the Scottish psyche and to say to young people—you've really got to open your mind and look cross the board. Because it is difficult for young people to be motivated to think: 'Oh, yes... in 10-years-time I might need this', or 'In 15 years' time I am going to speak German'. Because they may think, just now,' I am a little boy or little girl learning German and I will never go to Germany'.

Despite these factors, P3 insisted that education should not give way to prevailing popular views that Scottish education does not need Modern Languages, because English will be sufficient in the modern world. Instead, he argued, the curriculum should do what is good for children and their place in the coming future:

(27) I think as soon as the young people have connection with other young people across the world, they will have opened eyes; they will know the world has different standards and know what the globalisation is.

P3's urging of young Scots to 'look cross the board', in extract (26), as a justification for studying Modern Languages, is clearly less likely even in his own terms to incentivise Modern Languages learning. As he states in extract (27), the children 'will have opened eyes' to see that the connection with people from other countries can be perfectly well sustained through the medium of the English Language. It is therefore vital to note that learning Modern Languages involves developing complex intellectual insights, such as values and cultures, beyond simply learning the Modern Languages themselves. Hence, policy making should take 'intellectual dexterity and flexibility' into consideration. (Phipps & Fassetta, 2015, p. 31). Hence, while it is not difficult for children to 'look across the board', what is difficult is to 'look across the board' beyond the fact of the popularity of the English Language, and beyond the fact that Modern Languages themselves are often difficult to learn, to the broader humanising and educational values experienced in making that effort.

Drawing from comments (26) and (27) outlined above, these discourses reveal an underlying anxiety about securing a sustainable future for the discipline of Modern Languages within a key demography in schools and in the curriculum portfolio of individual pupils. The context for such worries is indeed the phenomenon of young Scots being likely to drop Modern Language study owing to a tacit sense in the ‘national psyche’ that the English language will suffice, not only in Scotland, but also in a globalised world where English remains the functioning lingua franca. In line with this, P3 noticed the danger that this ‘psyche’ may impoverish the multi-cultural and multi-linguistic ethos in Scotland, particularly among young people, and he emphasised many times in the interview that it would be ‘terrible’ if Scotland were ‘not outward looking as a nation’.

However, P3 was ultimately unable to show me any serious institutional commitment to the diversity and pluralism underpinning the survival or flourishing of Modern Languages in schools, in terms consistent with the Scottish Government high-stakes investment in teaching a range of languages in primary and secondary education. Rather, his response conveyed the clear message that Modern Languages are essentially functional add-ons to the STEM and Humanities curriculum, and children might opt to use them in the future if they have the opportunity to go abroad. Similarly, P3 also failed to explain how the Scottish monolingual language context might actually motivate children to think in a more outward-looking fashion. He did, however, interestingly, speak of a meaningful pedagogy for Modern Languages through ‘culture’ as a supposed basis for increased motivation to learn:

(28) So what we to do to motivate is we bring in as much as we can in the curriculum to do with culture; to learn about the difference of the cultures. We also encourage Language departments to go on trips, to take children to, like, German Christmas markets in Germany; to take them to France; to take children to the countries where the language is spoken to let children see how well they are doing; and also to let them practise the languages, etc.

Previous studies show us that children’s curiosity about another culture can undoubtedly function as a driving force for continuing to learn another language (Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam, 2009). In this sense, P3’s words, in extract (28), ‘Take children to German Christmas markets’ and ‘the countries where the language is spoken’, could be interpreted as suggesting interactions helpful in developing this drive to engage children in further cross-cultural interactions. They could also be

interpreted as arguing that children should be provided with opportunities for positive experiences that build confidence and reinforce their curiosity to pursue additional interactions, including communicative and linguistic ones. All these could be achieved by testing cultural assumptions, and extending cultural awareness, in the light of the directly observed behavioural patterns exhibited by target language natives in natural social-interactive settings (Flick, 2013).

However, it remains debatable whether such activities as those suggested by P3 in extract (28) — occasional short-term cross-cultural study trips to Germany or France — would actually help with language learning itself in formal language classes. The restricted nature of such short-term cross-cultural study trips can deter culturally adventurous participants, while limited local interactions often take us closer to the realm of tourism than extended intercultural learning of the kind that supports ambitious language use. It is also worth observing that, even where they are successful, these initiatives are almost always the exclusive preserve of secondary schools in Scotland.

Short-term trips also have other disadvantages. They may entail extra expenses for families. This may exacerbate pre-existing differences in social capital between advantaged children and disadvantaged children, since wealthier families tend to have more experience of travel and routinely build on this to purchase other opportunities for foreign language learning and instruction for their offspring (Duncan & Murnane, 2011). So, in summary, we might reasonably conclude that trips abroad and exchange visits may well have a role in effective Modern Languages learning, but that they remain difficult to evaluate on a cost-benefit and long-term basis.

5.4.3 Developing multi-cultural awareness

Another rationale for Modern Language study in Scottish primary schools that P3 acknowledged was its significance for developing young people's consciousness of a multi-cultural world. This rationale is the same as the one given by P1 from Beijing, China, but with a slightly different focus. P1 from Beijing highlighted the importance of fostering equal and mutual understanding with other countries, while still tending also to emphasise the enhancement of Chinese cultural influence in the world. Scotland, according to P3's words in extract (29), seeks to be a generous and open-minded society in response to the continuing multi-cultural reality:

(29) because we are becoming a more diverse nation as well. So we know that our pupils are not just Scottish people in your class.

We have seen in the Shanghai Government policy documents (e.g., Shanghai Government, 2004a, Shanghai Government, 2004b, Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2011) a vague, even contradictory, approach which seeks to develop young people's consciousness of a multi-cultural world through a Modern Languages learning experience, while limiting the first Foreign Language choice exclusively to English — including the culture of English-speaking countries. Scottish Government policy, in seeming contrast, holds a clear commitment and determination to develop children's awareness of a multi-cultural world through more than one Modern Languages experience in primary schools: the *1+2 Approach* (Scottish Government, 2012a) for Language, which allows children to experience 'Language 3' (L3) from P5 to P7, in addition to 'Language 2' (L2) from P1.

P3 stated in extract (30) that L2 can be chosen from '8 languages', and L3 can be 'absolutely any language'. This suggested multiple opportunities for children to experience Modern Languages, and, of course, individual primary schools have a good deal of autonomy in meeting this expectation.

(30) Because L2 needs to be transferable into secondary schools and taken as a national qualification. So that limits down to the 8 languages, and only those languages that have got national qualifications attached to them. In terms of L3, which children take as the second additional language from about P5 or earlier, that can be absolutely any language.

In line with what P3 said above, that the *1+2 Approach* serves as a gateway to encourage Scottish young people's later formal Modern Language course uptake, individual schools tend to deliver the Modern Languages that children can have the option to later continue in secondary schools, i.e., mostly French. In this particular research study, the responses of both Head Teachers from the two Case Study Schools' underlined that a vital part of the rationale for delivering particular Modern Languages in primary schools depends on the options available for languages in associated secondary schools.

It really depends on the language course of our associated secondary school. All schools are organized into seven clusters containing a secondary school, associated primaries and nursery facilities. We do French because all secondary schools have French. Only one school has Mandarin.

-----Head Teacher 3

Our regime is across the whole associated school groups, so all the Primary schools and secondary schools are all working together. There are five primary schools and one secondary school in our cluster and we are all delivering Mandarin.

-----Head Teacher 4

Perhaps it is worth noting here that effective study of Modern Languages includes maintaining interest and uptake beyond school. If, therefore, Modern Languages in primary education aims to stimulate later further study in secondary schools, there should be some additional motivation that can keep young Scots continuing to pursue Modern Languages after leaving school. However, apart from obtaining Scottish National Qualifications, in extract (30), P3 did not ultimately provide any clear vision of how Modern Languages can continue to help to raise young Scots' broader attainment and aspirations for later learning, or even for their life and work in Scotland itself.

It is noteworthy that the Head Teacher from Case Study School 4, a school teaching Mandarin, described to me when I visited her vision of school leavers in her area using the language to serve the local oil business in a broader international and intercultural sense:

(31) All the trade, the business, the enterprise comes to Aberdeen for the oil. There is a lot of Chinese business, and there are a lot of people who said to us — the business people — that they wish they could have a little bit more understanding of China so that they could make partnership easier.

As argued above, most Scottish school leavers are unable to speak a Modern Language with any significant fluency. Modern Languages are most likely to be used by Modern Languages university graduates. However, Head Teacher 4's response above indicated that her school cluster, working

closely with local authorities and resources, is looking at some sort of vision of connectivity between Mandarin learning and future local jobs. At the same time, she recognised that local businesses will need young people's Mandarin at a level and in a form which conveys some broader kind of 'understanding of China' – in terms of cultural and social knowledge – in order to effect meaningful transactions. Further discussion with teachers' responses on this issue will be provided in Chapter Six (section 6.4.2).

The above responses from P3 suggest that the Scottish Government expects a revival of Modern Languages amongst young Scots in the primary education years, and hopes that this experience can incentivise their further Modern Languages learning. So the Modern Languages abilities of teachers are surely the key to fulfilling these expectations for the whole endeavour. As has been discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), Modern Languages are mostly taught by teachers through a wider holistic pedagogy rather than an advanced disciplinary expertise. Therefore, the overview of current provision for Modern Languages in Scotland, and the issues surrounding implementing *1+2 Approach* merit significant consideration.

5.5 Provision and issues surrounding the implementation of the 1+2 Approach – policy maker

When questioned about the readiness of primary schools and teachers in Scotland for embedding the *1+2 Approach*, P3 observed, realistically, that 'it is a huge ask to primary schools staff'. In extract (33) below) he directly stated that the current level of competence of the relevant language teachers in primary schools is a 'mix' and 'various'. This suggested a tacit concern that there may be no guarantee for the quality of future Modern Languages education, even it is fully embedded by 2021, because the 'mix' and 'various' levels of teacher competence in Modern Languages mean long-term, protracted and costly continuous professional development and teacher training.

According to the Scottish Government (2012b), one of the key means of helping the Scottish Government to achieve and maintain successful implementation of the initiative is the continuity of generous funding streams. In echoing this ideology, P3, in extract (32), stated that sufficient

funding from the government is the key to maintaining the teaching resources and teachers' training:

(32) Annually we have given money to Local Authorities. So that is one thing, which is financial support that goes to Local Authorities. So Glasgow, for example, gets a big chunk of money. Because most people in Scotland are based in Glasgow. It really comes down to the resources and training.

It may be noted here that the priority funding for Modern Languages might be axed or discontinued, as it may conflict with other Scottish Government priorities for literacy, numeracy and, in particular, Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects (Scottish Government, 2016a). It is also noteworthy that the Scottish Government launched another major government initiative in 2016 with £1.5 million for training programmes and classroom resources to boost primary schools Maths and Science learning (Scottish Government, 2016b). This most recent initiative may also leave primary teachers and schools with a difficult decision on which curricular area needs more attention.

Nonetheless, when pointing to how to tackle the *mix* and *variety* of teacher competence, P3 maintained optimism, insisting that most teachers have the potential to teach Modern Languages well in school with appropriate training, involving especially the improvement of their Modern Languages teaching pedagogies – ‘what a good sequence in a language lesson looks like’ - and development of their own command of Modern Languages — ‘fluency of Modern Languages’ (Appendix 9). P3 took this view on the assumption that a particular generation of teachers had had some kind of Modern Language learning experience in school ‘in Scotland up to age 16’:

(33) The levels of language teachers we have now are very mixed and various. In Scotland we have got teachers in primary schools who have got no language at all, but that would be [those educated in school] 40 years ago. They might be a minority who have no language. A minority, because [later] everybody did a foreign language in school, usually French... as a compulsory subject...up to age 16. So we have got to capture that generation as they become Modern Language teachers.

But it is questionable whether this level of Modern Languages experience of prospective or serving teachers from their own schooling will have any meaningful relation to them being qualified language teachers in primary schools. Instead, it might even be dangerous, if the teacher in question had a poor quality language experience up to age 16 and therefore could not reasonably teach the language effectively. After all, Scotland's experiment with compulsory Modern Languages education up to 16 was not a resounding success and was subsequently abandoned when performance levels dropped and even fewer pupils opted to take the subject to more advanced post-16 levels. The failure of this policy was in fact one of the drivers of the *I+2 Approach* philosophy in the first place (Scottish Government, 2012b).

This approach could also create chronic problems for primary school children's language learning, since children would risk imitating the habits of teachers whose compulsory language learning was in the first place inadequate (see detailed information in Chapter Seven, section 7.2.2). It would also be more dangerous to the *I+2 Approach* scheme if teachers are teaching the language while busy picking it up at the same time. This may cause what has been discussed in Chapter Two section 2.6, the Teachers' Impostor Syndrome' (Brookfield, 1995).

For those staff, generally, who have less Modern Languages experience, P3 indicated to me that online resources are one of the most important supports offered to teachers and that the Government had invested in technology to help teachers teach meaningful and efficient Modern Languages lessons. He then continued to suggest tips for teachers' approach to teaching languages, for example using sound files online:

(34) There are also the sound files about classroom language, you know like 'come in, sit down, take your jacket off'... And that is very true—that you can just click the board, just click and click and then let the board be the teacher. But they are very good for teachers who don't have enough language background., Which is the majority.

These comments in extract (34) can evidently risk making teachers' professionalism be perceived as undermined by an over-dependence on resources. For primary school stages, using sound files or other supporting materials might at least secure properly sequenced language lessons. Teachers

can teach following the sequenced material that has been provided, especially those teachers who may not have depth of language knowledge. However, this frequently ‘robot-like’ instructional approach can actually be signalling that those teachers are not able fully and flexibly to use language resources — for example, lacking confidence in how to tailor teaching materials and adapt activities appropriately for the different age groups or stages of language learning they encounter in their own schools. Any pedagogical situation where the resource has become the learning must be viewed with scepticism. Resources are intended to support the effective implementation of the curriculum, not to become the curriculum.

In addition, since the *I+2 Approach* includes the introduction of L3 in addition to L2, it is interesting to look at P3’s suggestion on how schools would implement L3. In extract (35) below, he suggested primary schools can implement not only L3, but also, e.g., L4, L5 etc., determined by the pattern of children’s daily community lives:

(35) Schools can have two paths: they can have P4-P7 the same language. So they can have either the teacher delivering it or they can have another member of staff who is qualified and is coming to deliver that. But there is an option that the school can have variety of languages. So in P5, they might want to do Polish because they have a large number of Polish children in the school. In the next term, they might do Japanese, because some day there are Japanese communities coming in.

Considering the difficulty of learning a foreign language mentioned above, and the absence of statutory time allocation for foreign languages in Scotland (Phipps & Fassetta 2015), the limited time in one term in which children study a foreign language is more likely to produce a curriculum focused on cultural awareness-oriented exposure rather than systematic language implementation. In addition, we have been informed that L3 implementation also ought to be limited to cultural engagement. This would raise some concern that the *I+2 Approach* policy would end up as a *I+2 cultures* policy, which may undermine the expectation of the Scottish Government. Further discussion on this concern will be provided with teachers’ responses in Chapter Seven (section 7.2.1)

In reaction to P3's words in extract (35), it is also worth pointing out here that the Modern Languages choices, the success of P3's two alternative 'paths', depends very much on the individual school's available staff and the financial resources they can access (Phipps & Fassetta, 2015). In this regard, schools teach Modern Languages almost as one-off initiatives (e.g. 'Japanese' and 'Polish'), with resources to hand that will fluctuate with the ups and downs of available funding, and will be challenged when there are problems of smaller teacher numbers and supplies. For example, the Head teacher of Case Study School 3 expressed to me her worry about losing teacher resources - if the only language specialist in her school retired - by saying: 'I'd love to see my class teachers teach modern languages, because I am thinking, T5 is doing a great job now, but she will be off one day'. The same worry also existed in Case Study School 4, where the frequent come and go of Mandarin teachers could have an influence on the continuity of language study:

(36) We had a Mandarin teacher, XX, last year. She did reading and writing to P4, P5, P6 and P7. This year we work with another language assistant from China. We focus on P1, P2 and P3. And we going to hopefully build up the rest of the school.

-----Teacher 6

In the data discussed above P3 presents Scotland as having a clear commitment and determination to make the *1+2 Approach* work in primary schools, with financial and various training supports. How teachers respond to and cooperate with these government expectations is the key to the success of the policy implementation. This needs further interrogation with Case Study Schools' practitioners' responses in Chapters Six and Seven.

5.6 Summary

In this Chapter, I have presented the findings related to the *Policy Initiative Phase* of the research design of this study. These include the policy makers' responses, from two research sites, to the rationale for including Modern Languages in primary education. The data reveal that, despite the mostly monolingual environment that pertains in both Shanghai and Scotland, both governments see the vision of the importance of embracing Modern Languages education at the national level and the individual level. This Chapter has also presented policy makers' responses in exploring policies for the implementation of Modern Languages, particularly regarding teachers' professional development. The data reveal some problems in terms of unsuitable Modern Languages training and proficiency requirements for language teachers; an overestimation of the significance of age factors to Modern Languages outcomes; and underestimation of the difficulty of Modern Languages learning. In the next chapter, the research will present the second part of the findings relating to the *Policy Implementation Phase* of the research design, with the interview data from Case Study Schools practitioners, regarding their perceptions of the inclusion of Modern Languages in primary education and the accompanying professional development.

Chapter Six: Results (B) Policy implementation of Modern Languages in Primary Education

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five presented the first part of the findings regarding the *Policy Initiative Phase* of the research design, which related to the rationale for Modern Languages education in primary schools and its supports in action as perceived and evaluated from the policy makers' interviews and perspectives. This Chapter will present the second part of the findings relating to the *Policy Implementation Phase* of the research design. I will firstly present the interview data from the Case Study School practitioners, regarding their responses on the inclusion of Modern Languages in primary education and the accompanying professional development. As set out in the interview themes reported in the methodology (Chapter Four, section 4.7.3.1), this will include teachers' understanding of Modern Languages education in primary school; and the difficulties and solutions they encounter in delivering Modern Languages in practice. Drawing on data from the interviews, this Chapter will also cover analyses and discussions of the inter-relationship in linking policy makers' responses in Result A with practitioners' responses to explore the impact of policy implementation and to identify obstacles and issues for Modern Languages implementation.

6.2 Shanghai's teachers' responses to the inclusion of English Language in primary education

It is worth noticing first that the four participant teachers—T1 and T2 from Case Study School 1 and T3 and T4 from Case Study School 2—all teaching only English in school, had positive attitudes towards English Language education in the primary school. In making reference to the importance of the English Language in a globalised world, T1 (extract 37), and T2 (extract 38), emphasised that English Language is a vital practical medium for young people's wellbeing, including 'travel' across the world and academic flourishing 'study'. English has a privileged position in education in China. It is worthwhile to recall here that there are various English

Language assessments that a young Chinese person must take during his/her lifetime — such as Gaokao (the university entrance examination), for every high-school leaver; the National CET (College English Test), for which candidates must have achieved a BA; the IELES and TOEFL, for students who intend to study abroad; and the BEC (Business English Certificates), for those who aim to work in, e.g., an international business company.

In this regard, T1 and T2 perceived English as something to assist those endeavouring to achieve something better in their lives, and this provided teachers with a clear sense of purpose. They taught the language with the purpose of helping children's later learning, or even for their eventual adult life and work. T2 later cited a teacher like herself, comparing herself to a *nail* in the Education building, holding things together, and doing their best to meet the exacting requirements of the schools (section 6.3.1). Any sense of a broader rationale is seen as the domain of those perceived to be higher level professionals like policy makers and researchers.

(37) Of course, we should have our children having the English language as a compulsory course. Even if they cannot speak it fluently in the future, at least they can speak a little when needed. Plus, it is a practical tool in a city like Shanghai and also for travel or later further study.

(38) Yes, they should be taught the English because it is good for children in many ways, and the English language is very practical when travelling or studying abroad...

Perhaps acknowledging that Shanghai is an international metropolis with people from around the world, T1 seemed to assume that English is more likely to be used in Shanghai than other cities in China. She remarked that young people should 'at least speak a little English when needed' and 'it is a practical tool in a city like Shanghai'. However, paradoxically, she later states that 'Shanghai is mainly Mandarin and Shanghai dialect (is) the dominant environment; people who speak English would mostly be non-Chinese'. Since language cannot survive alone without a language environment, it is worth noting here that, for the majority of young people in Shanghai, the surprising lack of a multi-language environment in their daily communications may be a barrier to their language learning journey – they end up with little opportunity actually to speak the

language in daily life after years of demanding English Language learning in their education. In this regard, T1's statements of 'a little English', from a researcher's viewpoint may simply mean basic or no English at all. Hence the Mute English phenomenon in China discussed above (Chapter One, section, 1.4) — the ability to read English texts but fall below competence in English communication — is prevalent amongst many Chinese people (Liao & Wolff, 2010; Pan, 2015) who have learned English formally at school. This paradox in the statement of T1 may be attributable to her focus on teaching the language as a regular subject rather than deeply exploring the design or vision of English education for young children. But we might reasonably infer that the enthusiasm of T1 and T2 in supporting English language in the primary school is in actual fact derived from the popularity of English in a *world* context rather than from its functionality in Shanghai itself.

In a similar vein, T4 showed surprise at my questions. It appeared she rarely thinks about the overarching reason for English Language education, remarking incredulously 'Why learning language? Why not learn it? It is good for children's development, and I would argue that every child in Shanghai should learn English. It is an important trend'. Her responses portrayed a picture of the English Language as a part of a package of skills and subjects that are integral to young people's education. Perhaps, more interestingly, she described English Language learning as an 'important trend'. It has been very well documented by previous studies that the ability to speak some English for young Chinese in this era, is a symbol of being a modernized, accomplished citizen (Pan, 2015). The globalised mass media nurtured the popularity of the English Language by attracting young Chinese people in many ways in fields such as music, sports and TV programmes. The media play a key role in incentivising the trend of English learning in China, because they are culturally fashionable and afford greater access to global English Language popular culture.

Likewise, T1 later echoed T4's 'trend' for learning English, by describing three 'must-have' skills of being a modern young person in the 21st century in China. These are the abilities to:

'Walk' – to be able to drive a car

'Write' – to acquire ICT (Information and communication technology) skills

‘Speak’ – to be able to speak English

These metaphors are still true today in the psyche of many Chinese people. Among them the English Language is not only seen as intrinsic to the educational development of the child but is also a symbol of being a modern citizen. As previously discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), the Chinese had, and still have today, a strong commitment to education and being able to speak English is something reserved for the well-educated and accomplished. A person being a polyglot, and having English, if their oral English reflected a certain accent (e.g., Received Pronunciation), would be treated as in possession of specific skills conferring great distinction. This idea is still strong amongst young Chinese people today and this is reflected in a consistent appetite for learning Modern Languages — especially English — amongst Chinese young people (Pan, 2015). The association between youth culture and English Language makes young Chinese positively disposed to learn English rather than having to be forced to learn by schools or teachers. Interestingly, this is similar to the situation in Scotland in the nineteenth century — that speaking certain foreign languages – e.g., French - was seen as well-educated, a publically legitimised marker of status and belonging, a sign of imperial privilege, and more than just a tool for communication (Phipps & Fassetta, 2015).

All the above teachers’ responses demonstrated that they believe that embedding English Language learning in the lives of Shanghai’s young people derives from vital extrinsic and pragmatic motivations, such as employment, communication, or following important cultural trends, alongside any deeper personal motives. We can infer that they hold their beliefs with reference to the popularity of English Language in a *world* context rather than merely for its functionality in Shanghai itself. However, it remains a paradox, from their own commentaries, that they taught learners to become bilingual in a fundamentally mono-lingual environment. This directs us to another driver of languages education, which is the possible prioritisation of humanistic educational justifications, such as the study of literature or cinema. These potential motives merit separate and careful consideration.

6.2.1 Benefit of starting language learning in the Primary School

We have seen from the Chapter Five that Chinese policy makers (P1 and P2) hold basically instrumental views for the promotion of English Language education, involving the expansion of Chinese influence in world affairs, especially in the realms of business and culture. There was still a strongly aligned belief across policy makers and teachers in the case study schools that English Language education is educationally valuable in itself, in the fundamental sense that learning to use a language enables the understanding of other cultures and the vital processes of intercultural exchange.

This alignment can be derived from what was discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.2) that the Chinese traditionally have a strong conviction about, and commitment to, the importance of learning more skills from a very early age. English Language learning has been for decades a long-established subject, like Maths and Chinese, in Shanghai primary schools. Competence in Modern Foreign Languages, as well as in mathematical and Chinese Language skills, is seen as promoting a wide spectrum of other vital capabilities and attributes. So the overwhelming support for English Language education by policy makers and practitioners included a much stronger orientation towards intrinsic educational benefits rather than simply instrumental ones.

Under this culture of a strong commitment to learning in Shanghai, it is not surprising that all four teachers interviewed were consensual in support of the principle of starting English Language education from Primary 1. In line with the Chinese policy makers (Chapter Five, section 5.2.2), T1 insisted that early second language learning would help children to build up a native-like second language pronunciation. She exemplified this by referring to the children in her class, who, she argued, could easily acquire standard pronunciation from the sound files with little influence from their own Chinese pronunciation, by remarking, ‘You can tell that little ones can more easily pick up the pronunciation with the recording than older ones can’.

From this, from the policy makers’ interview data and from suggestions in the Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for English Language (Shanghai Government, 2004, p. 4), we can see that both participant practitioners and the participant policy makers in the study are in favour of

‘standard’ pronunciation. It is noteworthy that the pronunciation here mentioned by teachers, and previously by the Chinese policy makers, means a habit of producing a sound, which is acquired by repeating and mimicking it and being corrected when it is pronounced wrongly. Learning to *pronounce* a second language means developing new pronunciation habits and overcoming the bias of the first language (Cook, 2013). It is not the major theme of this inquiry, but it could be true that one might more easily acquire precise pronunciation in early years when the habits of first language acquisition are not firmly established. As has been discussed in Chapter Five (section 5.4.2), English and Mandarin belong to different language families with significantly different phonological systems. This makes learning English a challenge for Chinese native speakers. Hence, the advantage of children’s mimicking comes to play a vital role in shaping their vocal behaviours.

While it could be argued that English Language learning in the primary curriculum is dominated by learning standard pronunciation, it is well documented (Derwing & Munro, 2005; Hismanoglu, 2006; Harmer, 2015) that learners with good English pronunciation can increase their spoken intelligibility — ‘the speaker’s intended utterance is actually understood by a listener’ (Derwing & Munro, 2005, p. 385). This is true even if they make regular errors in speaking, whereas learners with inaccurate pronunciation will not be understood, even if their grammar is accurate (Muñoz, 2014). The less accurate pronunciation may potentially have a huge negative impact on learners’ confidence and experience of communication with others. Learners, in consequence, may speak less English to avoid embarrassment. This may then also be a partial explanation of the Mute English phenomenon in China (Pan, 2015).

In this regard, it could be argued that English Language education in Shanghai primary schools aims to incentivise and develop children’s confidence and enthusiasm for learning and speaking the language, starting with an emphasis on standard pronunciation, because that pronunciation factor is so challenging and yet so vital to Chinese learners gaining confidence and effectiveness in communication. Two key issues emerge – in early years’ language learning in China, pronunciation is vital because of the shift from a tonal language to an inflected one, with the potential for serious error and inhibition; and the early years represent a window of opportunity before Mandarin pronunciation habits become entrenched.

It is worth reflecting on the work of Muñoz (2014), discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.4), who suggests that while children learning English in formal classrooms cannot be surrounded by levels of input similar to those experienced by naturalistic learners, they can still enjoy some advantages as young learners. Young children have an intuitive grasp of language and they have an ability to be more attuned to the phonological system of the new language compared to adults. Children are sensitive to the sounds and the rhythm of new languages, and they enjoy copying new sounds and patterns of intonation. DeKeyser (2012a; 2012b) reinforces this position suggesting that young children's advantages in mimicking a language. Young children can acquire grammatical structures without explicitly thinking about them and young learners do consistently better with pronunciation, although not all aspects of language are affected in the same way if the target language and the mother language are in a profoundly different language system (Derwing & Munro, 2005).

It is also interesting to note here that, like the 'trend' for learning English Language in Shanghai, 'early starting' of language learning also appears to be something of a trend in the Shanghai context. T1's and T4's responses in extracts (46) and (47) show us that it is not early at all in relation to the children's experience in their classes. For some children in their classes, English Language education in Primary school is not a *start* at all, but a continuation of the language education already experienced by them:

(39) Actually, it is not early at all for many children in my class. Many of them started language (English) learning from kindergarten.

---- T1

(40) Many of the children in my class were from bi-language kindergartens or private kindergartens where they are already familiar with the language. If we didn't offer language courses from P1, it would not be good for them as they wouldn't have continuity of language learning. For those who have no language experience before, they might need to try harder than their peers.

----T4

On the basis of the trend for English Language learning mentioned above and P1's previous responses ('Lowering starting age of Modern Language education is in accordance with people's

(parents and children)’ needs’, Chapter Five, section 5.2), we can infer that English Language education being embedded in primary schools may be driven by a range of public needs.

Those public needs (parents’ and children’s) for English Language learning, as evidenced in Chapter Two (section 2.7), would be derived from several factors. Firstly, the Chinese Government executives speak highly of education and treat schooling as a priority both for building a civilised society and as a means of reinforcing governance and control (Wong et al, 2012), by instilling the hope of upward social mobility through education in everyone, especially the youth. Accordingly, examinations are a vital route to ascending the social ladder and achieving upward social mobility amongst most young Chinese (ibid). In China high-stakes examinations include English Language assessments of one kind or another. These examinations are required throughout a Chinese person’s lifetime. So English Language is *compulsory* for every Shanghai young person in his/her academic and working life.

Moreover, the ‘One-child Policy’, which has been discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7), made parents’ commitment to high expectation of their only child’s achievements in learning and working more powerful than ever before and the repercussions of this continue today. Effectively, there is a ‘one-chance’ policy for families and they try to seize educational opportunities for their only child. In addition, the reinforced ideology that language learning is easier for young children continues to prevail in the Chinese mind-set (Nunan, 2003). These factors foster a strong culture of investing time and money in education for children as early as practically possible. Hence the increasing trend to early English Language education across the society.

Secondly, the interviews with Chinese policy makers (Chapter Five, section 5.2) and the *Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for English Language* (Shanghai Government, 2001) present us with a China that is interested in its role in the world - adopting an outward-looking gaze; learning from and wishing to influence thinking in other countries, chiefly to serve domestic development. Thus China has seized English Language purposefully as a vital educational key for entry into the world. As a result, the idea of the prestige of English is passed on and spread to Chinese people across society. In the context of this study, these factors are seen in sharp relief in Shanghai, a developed city with its high GDP and fast growth rate. It has a crowded demography, with its children in the

top metropolitan rankings, benefiting from superior educational resources, but, less positively, absorbing the higher pressures of competition and expectations to enter the best secondary schools and universities.

T4's argument (40) 'For those [children] who have no language experience before [primary schools], they might need to try harder than their peers', implies that teachers' capacity for remedying the competency gap between children from different backgrounds is very limited. Children who do poorly in English in schools can count on traditional Chinese values such as diligence and attributing success to effort, to work hard in order to catch up with their peers. This phenomenon, on the other hand, intensifies the trend towards early English education among parents and children, because parents do not want their only child to be left behind in their primary school education. It is worth remembering here that, as has been discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7), bilingual kindergartens have unsurprisingly become the first choice for children from advantaged Chinese families. This, however, may only serve to widen the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged families.

Given the seemingly unstoppable trend towards early English Language learning amongst Chinese advantaged families, lowering the starting age of the formal teaching of English Language in schools may help to minimise the language competence and financial gaps between the children of more and less affluent families (Marginson, 2016). The attraction of an early start to English Language learning might encourage children to take extra-curricular activities rather than extra English, with extra cost, provided children have free high quality English subject provision in schools. As T2 suggested, 'If we don't start English Language from P1 in schools, children still will have it from then anyway ... from after class training. That would cause even bigger gaps between children and of course cost extra for many families'.

T2 also showed a strong positive belief that the earlier children start Modern Languages study, the more likely it is that they can readily acquire the language more naturally, rather than have to learn it more formally. In a view that is consistent with views previously expressed by policy makers (Chapter Five, section 5.2), citing only some linguists rather than any tangible research evidence to support such claims, she pointed out that primary age (before age 8) is a critical period for

children to learn Modern Languages. She supported this belief by referring to a child in her class who speaks three Modern Languages:

(41) Don't underestimate those children. Some linguist said children can manage 3 languages before 8 (No reference). In my class, there is a child from Russia. He speaks Russian and English at home, speaks English and Chinese with us at school. He understands most Chinese, though sometimes is not able to speak his mind as fluently as in English. But apart from this, he has no problem in managing three languages.

Interestingly, I found the same belief with similar stories (below) of children managing polyglot or bilingual skills from a teacher in a Scottish school (section 6.4). The documentation surrounding the *Shanghai Curriculum for English Language* is very positive about the benefits of an early start to second language learning (Shanghai Government, 2001, p.3), basing arguments on the 'considerable body of evidence which indicates that children acquire the second language in the way they acquire mother language before age 10'. It is also important to remember here that both Chinese policy makers, in the interview (Chapter Five, section 5.2), pointed out that starting Modern Languages in Primary schools from Year 1 is an evidence-based policy founded on years of schools' piloting the work, as well as on a sound scientific understanding of children's development of language cognition.

The international research literature surrounding these claims is complex. Some older studies by proponents of the *critical age* hypothesis suggest that children learning a language at a young age do have advantages in terms of achieving native speaker-like pronunciation (Patkowski, 1980, DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005) — although this has been challenged (Cummins 1981, Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam, 2009). In terms of fluency, vocabulary acquisition, and accuracy, it is claimed by some researchers that those beginning language learning later actually outperform young learners, given the same language input (Mora, 2006; Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b).

In addition, it can be argued that, according to extract (41), some of these language learners' success stories could be unique or isolated cases which afford only weak evidence. This strength of evidence from teachers maybe not be sufficient to support the generalisation made to the whole system in either Shanghai or in Scottish primary education. We need to be cautious about the

conclusions we reach based on the small number of children who live in genuinely bilingual or language immersion contexts that incentivise communication in several Modern Languages across different situations. The Shanghai primary schools are mainly monolingual classroom settings, where children are taught a limited repertoire of expressions by non-native language teachers. Moreover, Cummins (1991), Bialystock (2008) and Brummitt and Keeling's (2013) studies demonstrate to us that native-speaker language proficiency can only be assured through massive exposure to language input. This is most unlikely to happen, however enthusiastic the teachers are. In general Shanghai primary schools offer 70 minutes per week for Primary 1 and 2 and 140-175 minutes for Primary 3 to 5 English Language courses. It is indeed difficult to imagine total exposure occurring outside of second language full medium teaching—such as the Gaelic-medium primary education experience offered in Scotland (Johnstone et al. 1999; O'Hanlon et al. 2010). The only near equivalent in China would be the English-medium private International Schools, which serve only a small minority of children.

T2's comments also suggested to us that key actors in this process, such as policy makers, practitioners, parents and children themselves, might still often identify successful Modern Languages 'learning stories' around them, and might sometimes take those examples as a reinforcement of the 'earlier the better' view of Modern Languages learning. These narratives rarely take into account the background language context of these exemplar children or explore the feasibility of rolling out such examples within complex modern primary schools. It is noteworthy here that previous research (Muñoz 2008; Muñoz & Singleton 2011) has not provided strong evidence to demonstrate the benefits of an early start for second language acquisition, and there appears to be a lack of empirical evidence to date confirming that younger starters overtake older starters in mainstream school settings with the same amount of language input.

Despite this, younger starters may be more enthusiastic and more highly motivated language learners (Printer, 2017). As T3 stated, children have less inhibition in learning languages where they are less fearful of making mistakes: 'Little ones are more likely to speak more without feeling embarrassed when making some language mistakes'. We have evidence from previous research evidence (Harmer, 2015) that older children manifest more inhibitions, which appear in Modern Languages classes where, when they attempt to speak in the Modern Language, they are often

embarrassed. In order to learn a new language, they have to be reconciled to the trial-and-error struggle of speaking and understanding it.

Compared with younger language starters who are relatively less inhibited, older language starters are in the process of developing self-identity and often do not see their mistakes as a learning process, but rather as a threat to their reputation and dignity, or as a source of negative evaluation from the teacher or their peers (Printer, 2017). This may engender feelings of embarrassment or insecurity. Such older language starters are more likely to prefer silence most of the time and are less willing to take part in classroom activities. This might also contribute to an explanation of the previously described *Mute English* phenomenon amongst Chinese language learners.

Younger children's relative lack of inhibition is particularly helpful for learning a second language in Chinese culture, which is often preoccupied with losing face — being embarrassed — in public (Faure & Fang, 2008). Making mistakes - making language mistakes - is often strongly associated with such loss of face. In addition, Confucian ideology emphasises social harmony, which requires one's feelings to be under control, manifesting humility of behaviour in public (Faure & Fang, 2008). Confucius⁷ ideology encourages students not to share thoughts and answers, which might be perceived as showing off knowledge with the potential to hurt the harmony of the group (ibid). This ideology is more likely to influence and restrict Chinese young people as they gradually absorb such ideas from patterns of daily Chinese learning. Hence, this may become a further barrier to successful second language learning, which routinely requires learners to speak more about ideas in the target Modern Language.

It is clear that younger children are less likely influenced by these factors. Young children, as discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.4), are less anxious and less inhibited, since they are not developed enough cognitively to possess hostile *attitudes* toward their surroundings - such as races, cultures, ethnic groups, classes of people - including languages. Hence, they are less afraid of

⁷ Confucius (551–479 BC) was a Chinese teacher, editor, politician, and philosopher of the Spring and Autumn period of Chinese history.

embarrassment in making mistakes or how they come across as non-native speakers. Even more, they are generally less aware that they are *acquiring* a language, nor are they particularly highly aware of prejudicial societal values and ideologies. Likewise, it is well documented that younger children appear to have higher self-esteem and self-efficacy and they often are ‘learning optimists’ (Printer, 2017: p. 33). They rate their abilities highly, typically underestimate the difficulty of tasks and cannot yet differentiate between causes of success and failure (Mercer & Williams, 2014). This finding of the research literature is echoed in T2’s words in extract (42):

(42) Children can easily pick up confidence and ...easily be stimulated to their potential... Sometimes you know some children are a little bit slower language learners. You encourage them, like say ‘You are a language genius... you have done a great job and can do better...’, and they trust what you said and have confidence and enthusiasm in learning it. And they may eventually do a great job for real.

---T2

These insights indicate that the real benefit of starting learning languages in the primary school could be attitudinal and dispositional, rather than linguistic. To intensify positive language learning attitudes amongst children, the message appears to be the earlier the better. Although the evidence is not indisputable, we can infer from the teachers’ words, that what is needed for Chinese young people to learn a new language is a safe and encouraging environment. Likewise, older children are more likely to be influenced by surroundings, such as friends and peers, in their attitudes to language learning. As discussed previously (Chapter Two, section 2.4), earlier studies (Dörnyei, 2001; Harmer, 2015) have argued that young people are particularly vulnerable to peer pressure because they are attempting to live up to indicators that they believe are favoured by their peers. Compared with younger children, older children or adolescents are the demographic most susceptible to peer pressure (Bartram, 2006). In the language sector, negative peer pressure in Modern Languages may exert a negative influence on attitudes to Modern Languages learning as a whole. Hence the earlier the consolidation of positive attitudes to Modern Languages, the easier it may be to create a language-friendly environment and to incentivise continuing positive attitudes to learning the language. As T3 stated, ‘Little ones are more easily managed and engaged into these activities’.

The above teachers' responses suggest that teachers in the Shanghai case study schools see English as a popular trend, and something to assist in achieving better outcomes for individuals in the areas of work, education and life. But these attractions are derived from the popularity of English in a *world* context rather than its functionality in Shanghai itself. Unlike the indifferent attitudes towards early start language provision on the part of the Chinese policy makers, the four participating teachers unreservedly supported early start English language teaching. T1 and T4 believed early start English language learning is also a favourable trend amongst Chinese young people, owing to the public need derived from the dominant examinations culture, the one child-/one chance policy, and the high academic competition pressures in Shanghai. T2, making reference to her experiences, suggested that younger children may have an advantage in language proficiency and pronunciation. However, as discussed, other factors may also play equally important parts in the process of learning a new language. Supportive contexts, opportunities to practise, motivation and the quality of formal instruction all make a difference. Age cannot be separated and examined in isolation. Despite this, both T2 and T3's responses indicated that the real benefit for early start Modern Languages lies in its capacity to intensify children's attitudinal and dispositional inclinations, rather than their linguistic ones.

Drawing on the above data from Shanghai practitioners, there are broader cognitive, cultural, societal and literacy benefits to learning foreign languages besides linguistic proficiency. These benefits need to become more central in the development of the primary languages curriculum and to become more influential in shaping expectations. Despite this, whether teachers saw their own language proficiency level as adequate to provide the support to teach the language effectively is another question. It is important to explore further with them what proficiency levels are needed in primary schools and how they want to be supported in attaining them. This topic merits significant, separate consideration.

6.3 Shanghai's teachers' responses: professional development and support

As previously discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7), there is no English Language proficiency requirement for teachers who teach English Language in primary schools in Shanghai (Shanghai

Municipal Education Commission, 2011). As a consequence, teachers' language proficiency in teaching English Language is likely to be variable. Consistent with the response from the Shanghai policy maker, who argued that *all* teachers are qualified, all four teachers from two Case Study Schools insisted that their language proficiency levels are adequate to teach the English Language course in the Primary School. Their responses suggested that this confidence comes from two major sources:

- 1) A coherent compulsory Induction programme and a variety of in-service training support for teachers' professional development.
- 2) The fact that the Modern Language they teach is *English*, one to which they have been exposed in multiple contexts.

6.3.1 Compulsory Induction programme and in-service training to support teacher engagement in the English Language teaching

Teachers from both case study schools informed me that they are entitled to professional development programmes offered by a partnership of local authorities and schools. They believed that these programmes were 'sufficient and coherent', helping them to meet the curriculum standards. It is noteworthy to remember here that we have previously discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.7) that a unique feature of the Shanghai teacher education system, apart from its initial teacher education and in-service teacher education, is its compulsory one-year teacher induction programme, which all novice teachers must undertake. This programme is designed to allow participants to obtain classroom experience and to facilitate the transition to a permanent teaching job before hiring is finalized. (Shanghai Education Commission, 2013). The programme requires teachers to spend 50% of their time teaching in the classroom and spend another 50% taking training on ethics, pedagogy and student activity at district teacher training centres. Junior teachers engage in regular lesson observations of senior teachers to learn best practices. Reciprocally, senior teachers observe junior teachers' lessons to provide feedback.

The induction program provides new teachers with a supportive environment for sharing issues they encounter in their first year of teaching and also provides targeted training to strengthen

teaching skills. As T1 remarked, ‘Before I came to this school, I had a full year induction training, where I teach a half a day and sit in and observe a senior teacher’s lesson the other half day. That gives me time to fit in my job’. In the same vein, T2, T3 and T4 all conveyed the opinion that they gained confidence and readiness from the induction programme before taking a formal position. In addition, if new teachers do not meet the various requirements during this one-year induction program, or fail to pass the evaluations organized by the training centre and the schools, schools are not obliged formally to hire them.

For teachers who are in post, professional development is an essential part of their responsibilities. In Shanghai, all primary school teachers are required to complete 360 hours of professional development training during the first five years of their teaching careers (see Chapter Two, section 2.6). For example, participant teachers informed me, ‘We have loads of training courses... you have to attend them regularly. You will need to get marking and records from those courses’. (T2); ‘There are 12 courses which we are compulsory to take every 5 years. Some of them are related to languages’, (T3). In addition, teachers are evaluated, to ensure that they are improving as professionals, or for promotion to a higher rank with a salary increase (Chapter Two, section 2.7). This accorded with T4’s point: ‘Taking these training courses is necessary, as they are in relation to my salary increase’. In this regard, the compulsory nature of the in-service training for teachers is both intrinsically (professional development) and extrinsically (salary) beneficial to teachers. This facility may well increase teachers’ motivation to follow policy initiatives and implementation plans.

It can be inferred from the above participant teachers’ responses that their confidence and readiness to teach English Language are mostly derived from passing a series of compulsory and rigorous assessments and requirements overseen by authorities. It is important also to note here that neither the one-year induction program nor the in-service training program can improve participating teachers’ own English Language proficiency, since they mostly focus on teaching pedagogies.

Apart from the above compulsory professional development training, the so-called *Teaching and Research Group* works most effectively, according to participant teachers’ responses. As discussed in detail in Chapter Two (section 2.7), the *Teaching and Research Group* involves four layers,

national, municipal, district, and school. A school-based *Teaching and Research Group* functions as a professional development platform consisting of teachers of the same subject, who meet weekly to design lessons together, regularly sit in and observe and evaluate one another's lessons, share teaching experiences, discuss teaching problems, conduct research on issues in schools and learn new teaching technologies and skills. Each group has a leader who is responsible for organizing the activities and introducing novice teachers to the active learning community. The leader is also held accountable for overall teacher development in the group (Liang, Kidwai, Zhang, 2016). T4's words in extract (43) imply that she found she had benefited from this community-like school-based *Teacher and Research Group*, which for her contributed to a professional culture that shared understandings of schools' teaching goals, methods, problems and solutions. It also offers, she strongly suggested, opportunities for language teachers to engage in discussions and learning on matters of languages and pedagogy alongside experienced teachers and less experienced peers:

(43) In my school, we have 13 English Language teachers in our school. We meet every two weeks to share information, exchange our experiences and ideas about how to teach effectively...things like that... and there are other 2 teachers who teach Primary 3 now like me. So we three language teachers have meeting every Tuesday... to design and discuss lesson plans together. All these supports are helpful, because I know... if I stuck with any problems in teaching, I know where to go to ask for help. in a right track.

The collaborative and supportive nature of the *Teaching and Research Group* allows for the growth of the teaching quality of the entire school-based teaching community, rather than just individual teachers. However, as discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), teachers may come to rely on the supports from the *Teaching and Research Group* rather than researching their own teaching independently. This is in addition to the fact that English Language in all Shanghai schools is taught from the same textbooks and resources. Hence counting on *Teaching and Research Group*' support - e.g. designing lessons together and using the same textbook - risks making teaching become *copying*, rather than developing it professionally and academically for its own sake. It is thus more likely that two or more identical lessons will be delivered by different teachers. For example, in Chapter Seven (section 7.3), the two observed lessons by two language teachers in two Case Study Schools are very similar in terms of the lesson content and pedagogy.

This is owing to the fact that teachers deliver the same content with the same textbooks and resources, observing and learning pedagogies from the same model lessons and designing lessons together. In essence, the textbook becomes the curriculum.

Moreover, like the compulsory nature of English Language in primary schools, attending weekly meetings conducted by school-based *Teaching and Research Group* is also compulsory. This may make attending these meetings more to do with meeting the attendance requirements of the schools rather than meeting the need for professional development. Furthermore, these frequent and compulsory supports may also in turn risk isolating individual teachers from the policy curriculum. For example, teachers teach according to the interpretation of their affiliated schools rather than reading and interpreting the policy documents themselves to understand how to implement the policy:

I never read any policy documents. They all introductive information. What I focus is how my school's Teaching and Research Groups interpret the new policy.

- - T2.

It doesn't matter how I perceive the policy. What matters is what changes my school decides to do.

- - T3.

We've been given guidance of what school expects our lessons to include. Hence no need to read the policy myself.

- - T4

It can be inferred from the above extracts that, on the one hand, the two Case Study Schools had high autonomy in curriculum and pedagogy. On the other hand, there might be internal hierarchies among practitioners in schools (see has been discussed in Chapter Five, section 5.3). In the above extracts, teachers do not actively their pedagogy and implement innovations in relation to student outcomes. Rather, they compromise their teaching to the requirements of policy and requirements

of school — ‘It doesn’t matter how I perceive the policy’ (T3); and ‘We’ve been given guidance of what school expects our lessons to include’ (T4). Hierarchies may exist in the *Teaching and Research Group* itself, and its putatively collective and collaborative nature might actually reduce the opportunity for some teachers (particularly junior teachers) to make innovations in their teaching practices. Rather, they do not want to risk challenging existing schools-based curriculum and pedagogies. This may have the unintended consequence of breeding a ‘compliance culture’ in the schools:

Schools are like a ship. The head teacher is captain. We are sailors. Wherever our ship wants to go, we go. There is no way say I want to stay ashore because I am not ready. What you can do is follow the rules.

----- T1

We are often told that our educational system is a building. We individual teachers are a nail to hold things together to meet the requirements.

----- T2

We can infer from the above two extracts that ‘schools’ cited by T1 and ‘educational system’ by T2 mean implicitly the authorities that allocate to them the teaching requirements. Whenever the policy comes, teachers tend to endeavour to meet its requirements. However, there will be no one policy that fits all schools’ situations, and no one pedagogical plan fits all teaching practice. It is therefore potentially very dangerous to leave teachers at the bottom of a hierarchical educational system, where they mostly comply with the requirements of *schools* more than satisfy the various needs of *children*.

In addition to the sustained rigorous preservice and in-service training and supports discussed above, participant teachers informed me that the fact that prescribed Modern Language is English is another key source from which all the participant teachers derived confidence. English is a language to which they had been exposed in multiple contexts.

6.3.2 The endurance of English Language education

It is not surprising that T1 and T4 displayed a firm confidence in teaching the language itself since they each graduated with a BA major in English Language teaching:

I majored in English Language teaching in Normal University. I was trained to teach English Language.

—T1

I graduated with a BA in English Language major... Teaching English in primary schools is piece of a cake.

—T4

In this regard, I presume that their language specialist educational background and the rigorous preservice and in-service training described above enable them to deliver meaningful English Language lessons. What surprised me is that T3, who majored in Chinese Language in a Normal University, but who teaches English in primary school, possesses the same confidence in teaching the English Language as a subject in primary schools. This might be explained in terms of the high quality of an established English Language education course that has become routine for many from her generation onwards (she was in her 40s). Likewise, she stated, in extract (44) that, based on her 12 years' teaching experience, teachers in the primary stage do not need to be perfect at everything in the language:

(44) I actually graduated with a BA major in Chinese Language and have the Teachers Qualification for a High School Chinese teacher. I am now ending up teaching English in Primary school. It is no problem for me because I have learnt English in my schools age for over 6 years, so for the primary stage, my language knowledge is adequate to do the job to lead children through the 'gate' of the language. Their knowledge is basic. I don't need to be too much ahead of them.

In the same vein, T2, who majored in Education, also expresses, in extract (45), her confidence by noting that the language in the primary stage is ‘not difficult’, and by explaining that the language knowledge, including literacy and grammar, is at a basic level at the primary school stage:

(45) We have a course book to teach to follow. From Primary 1 to Primary 2, we teach mainly about culture. Then this goes to literacy (target to 600 words) and expressions and a small amount of grammar from Primary 3 thereafter. So the language contents, you know is not challenging at all.

T2 and T3’s words suggest that they see the English Language content in primary schools as *easy* and *basic*. However, the relationship between teachers’ English Language proficiency and the *easy* and *basic* language contents that they supposedly deliver should be viewed with some scepticism. It is questionable whether T2 and T3, who have no specialist training in the teaching of languages to young children, can articulate or implement the teaching of English Language from *basic* to a more *advanced* level in the later stages in primary. Important research discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), indicates to us that a language specialist teacher or a class teacher who ideally has a level of English at CEFR B2 or C1 (Pinter, 2017) are more able to deliver meaningful English Language lessons than teachers who have a poor command of the language, and/or who have received little or no training in foreign language pedagogy. In this regard, no English Language proficiency requirement for teachers in primary schools in Shanghai risks making children arrive with very diverse English Language experiences when they transfer to secondary school.

In addition, we have seen the bold ambition of the Shanghai Government in expecting children to acquire English just as they acquire Mandarin in the early years (*Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for English Language* (Shanghai Government, 2001. p. 5). If this is the essence of the Government’s expectation for English Language in primary school, it is questionable whether primary teachers without high English Language proficiency have the necessary experience or competence to reach the professional levels needed for achieving this expectation over the course of the whole endeavour. It is interesting to note that, when questioned about this issue, all four participant teachers’ instinctive responses were that the Government expectation is ‘just a suggestion’ (T1)’; or ‘not hard policy’ (T3). This implies that it is not actually a *compulsorily requirement* for them to meet.

According to the participant teachers' responses, they seem to have the same confidence as the participant policy makers had that they are competent to teach English Language in primary education. Their confidence derived from the rigorous pre-service and in-service training programmes that they have experienced. However, these training activities for primary education focus on teaching pedagogies rather than teachers' own English Language proficiency. There is a need for an English Language proficiency requirement for teachers, as this may have various impacts on children's English Language learning experience and achievements. The next section will move on to look at the Modern Languages situation in Scottish primary schools.

6.4 Scottish teachers' responses on the rationale of Modern Languages in primary education

Before we investigate the practitioners' views of Modern Languages in primary schools, it is worthwhile to remind ourselves that, unlike Shanghai, which sets English as the only choice in primary schools, a Scottish primary school can choose to teach a Language 2 (L2) from a range of 8 Modern Languages choices approved by the Scottish Government. Given that language learning involves investments of time and resources by governments, schools and learners, the decision on language choices in individual schools may reflect their expectation of the best return on these investments. Hence consideration of the decision in favour of the teaching of a particular Modern Language in each of the Case Study Schools merits first careful discussion.

6.4.1 Case Study School 3 (C3)

As discussed above, Case Study School 3 (C3) has French as Language 2 (L2) and Italian as Language 3 (L3). When questioned on the rationale for choosing French and Italian, the Head teacher 3 (H3) from C3 gave the straightforward reason, in extract (46), that it depends on the availability of resources that can keep children continuing with that Modern Languages in secondary schools. The choice of French as the selected language means it can be embedded within the children's overall education from the primary school to the secondary school, avoiding problematic Modern Languages transition issues:

(46) It really depends on the language course of our associated secondary school... All secondary schools have French. Only one school has Mandarin. So in order to let our children continue their language learning in the secondary school, we deliver French as the L2. I know, if for future business reasons, we should have Mandarin. So we offer an extra-curricular Mandarin club for our senior pupils.

As we have seen, though suffering sharply from recent declines, French remains, traditionally, the most taught language in Scottish schools and universities (British Council, 2013). C3 introduced French to children so that they might have better opportunities to articulate the learning of the French language with their cluster's secondary school. H3 did not offer any further discussion on the rationale for French suggesting that C3 maintained it for essentially managerial reasons decided for the most part by the secondary school. There is little evidence of reflection on wider motivations.

Perhaps owing to my nationality, in extract (46), H3 also added reference to an '*extra-curricular Mandarin club*'. It is interesting to note that H3 linked the justification for the '*extra-curricular Mandarin club*' to economic considerations related to the growing strength of the market in China. This brings a tacit sense that H3 and her school board might believe that Mandarin might have proven a stronger motivator for children in her school, since she saw it as a useful language in the global market, also remarking in extract (46), 'I know, if (only) for the future business reason, we should have Mandarin'.

However, it is interesting also to note here that according to the evidence summarised in *Languages for the Future* (British Council, 2013), a report on which languages the UK ought to learn today, French still emerges as one of the top three most important languages for UK trade. France is also identified in the report as the nation with the best geographical, cultural diplomatic and economic alignments with the British economy. But H3 connected Mandarin – a language spoken in faraway China – with economic considerations much more strongly than she did French. A similar story emerges below when practitioners in Case Study School 4 (C4) discussed the rationale for offering Mandarin in their school: a conversation conveying a much stronger orientation towards

extrinsic instrumental benefits rather than any other dimensions, such as educational or cultural advantages.

In a similar vein, T5's response in extract (63) indicated that the choice of French depended on the availability of language teachers for her school. Interestingly, she described the choice of French as the most common Modern Language as *a self-perpetuating* phenomenon, because as French is the most widely taught – more people are qualified to teach it – and then the language most likely to be taught in Scotland:

(47) It is a self-perpetuating problem. We do French in schools; people who go to study the languages in the Universities study French... and those who want to become teachers become qualified in French...

T5 added that the rationale for Modern Languages learning for individual children presented a varied picture, including aspects of language preference, a practical medium for young people's wellbeing and travel:

(48) I think the drive is not inside every pupil. When I'm teaching Spanish...more than half of the children say they prefer the Spanish to the French. Because there are fewer rules to learn [in learning Spanish]. But also ... some of my most able people in French say they prefer French, because they know how it works ...and for travel, more and more children say, 'Oh, my Dad works in France.'

However, it might be argued that, although it is mostly the truth that that many people are willing to have a go at speaking a foreign language on holiday or when travelling, many still rely on English alone. This situation is likely to continue with the recent development of translation technology products, such as *Translation Apps*. These are used, but could never compete with natural language speakers for accuracy or speed. However, they are gradually being seen as more than adequate to fulfil people's travel requirements (Kennedy, 2016).

6.4.2 Case Study School 4 (C4)

Case Study School 4 (C4) taught their children Mandarin as L2 and Spanish as L3 at the time of the visit. When questioned about the rationale for choosing Mandarin as L2 - in the same vein as H3 - Head Teacher 4 (H4) expressed the view that choices depend on the available resources for keep children engaged with Modern Languages in secondary schools, remarking, ‘There are five primary schools and one secondary school in our cluster and we are all delivering Mandarin’. Amongst these resources, one is from the Chinese government which, keen to promote Mandarin, has established a worldwide network of Confucius Institutes to support the learning of the language. This support plays a critical role in keeping Mandarin running in schools such as C4. The Hanban, which promotes Chinese language and learning, provides funding to Local Authorities to extend the programme. Case Study School 4 is one of the schools that benefit from such Chinese-funded programmes. This accords with practitioners’ statements:

We have strong partnership with China. We have a partnership with a school in Wuhan, China.

– – H4

There are a lot of financial supports to send native Chinese speakers to come to our schools to be language assistants.

– – T6

H4 also informed me, in extract (49), that her school cluster, working closely with local authorities and resources, is looking at some sort of vision of connectivity between Mandarin learning and future local jobs - using the language to serve the local oil business, for example, in a broader international and intercultural sense:

(49) There are lots and lots of reasons. Because China is now such a powerful nation, and all the trade, the business, the enterprise that comes to Aberdeen for the oil.

H4 appeared to have a clear view, in extract (49), of the practical utility of Mandarin, the most widely spoken language in the world today, which she felt may help to raise the broader attainment of her pupils and their aspirations for later learning, or even for working in Scotland itself. This may be true if looking at the holistic picture of UK trade (UK Government, 2013) in which China is currently the UK's seventh largest export market in goods. The UK is a top EU investor in China, receiving valuable inward investment from China in return. Hence learning Mandarin could be, citing T6's words in extract (50), *'more relevant, more topical'*:

(50) I think it is more and more relevant, more topical to children's future life...in the business and the economy. It only makes sense to have a language like Mandarin.

In the same vein, T7's later remark, in extract (51), echoed H4's business consideration and T6's *'relevance'* factor in children's future life:

(51) Because of the economy in the world. Some people say it is the biggest economy. So I think of the post school destination...If they've got a little Mandarin, hopefully it can help them to find a good job.

It could in principle be true that Mandarin, or any other trade-oriented language, might help individuals to exploit the benefits of the global market and keep improving trade between peoples worldwide. It could also be true that many international businesses may prefer recruiting young people with language skills to enable them to work effectively. However, it may be important to point out here also that the globalisation and the emergence of English as the current, dominant global language, has led many young people, such as those in Shanghai, to endeavour to learn English in order to become successful global citizens. Thus it is quite clear that it is in the interest of those businesses to find employees from young native speakers who have acquired English or even another language in addition to their first language. So T7's suggestion, in extract (51), could perhaps apply to cases where young Scots work for Scottish companies which export goods to the Chinese market. However, if the young Scots aim to work in an international company – a Chinese

company in this case - basic learning in Mandarin, what T7 calls '*a little Mandarin*', will never give them an employment advantage.

It is true that, in international business, good relations between countries and individuals are essential for development based on mutual respect and trust, so there *is* a genuine need for an understanding of the social, political, and technical systems of a major trading partner, as well as the various aspects of daily life that are important to that nation's identity and culture. However, T7's comment about '*a little Mandarin*' in extract (51) may indicate a failure to understand that local businesses involved with China will need young people's Mandarin at a higher level in order to effect meaningful transactions in business.

Moreover, from the above responses from practitioners in the two Case Study Schools in Scotland, the continuity of the availability of a Modern Language programme across the school cluster was the key rationale for choosing French in C3 and Mandarin in C4. This might well be in itself a good—if completely procedural—thing. However, very little further justification is offered for the choice of French (despite its long history in Scottish education) and the rationale offered for teaching Mandarin seems less than entirely convincing. For non-native learners, investing time to learn to speak enough of the language to demonstrate respect and interest is one thing. Learning to speak well enough to actually conduct business in or related to China is quite another.

Across this varied spectrum of language learning, improving provision for teacher education and resources seems vital for the success of the current policy of teaching one foreign language in primary schools. A smooth transition between primary and secondary schools should certainly be promoted to mitigate some of the current problems with Modern Languages in secondary schools. This concern is reflected in H3's worry about likely future shortage of suitably equipped teachers in primary. As discussed in Chapter Five (section 5.5), if the only language specialist, T5, in her school retired, there would be consequences: 'T5 is doing a great job now, but she will be off one day'.

There is no way of avoiding these realities. In the context of the privileged status of English as the language of international communications and culture, and the additional disincentives this creates,

if the *1+2 Approach* in Scottish primary schools has to become embedded in every school in Scotland, it seems certain that a much richer and more comprehensive justification for its philosophy has to be developed than has largely been offered in these interviews. The justification for French must be about more than the harmony of the school cluster; the justification for Mandarin must be about more than dreaming of jobs that may for the most part never exist.

6.4.3 Other responses to the *1+2 Approach* in primary schools across practitioners

There was a general consensus across 5 Scottish participant practitioners on positive adoption of the *1+2 Approach* in Scottish primary education:

I think it is a good policy as long as you can make sure people are supported.

--- T6

I like the fact that Government sees the importance of languages.

---T5

T5, a French and Spanish language specialist, also expressed a strong perception that ‘all of the modern language teachers will welcome the modern language study’, and then, with a slightly more uncertain tone in relation to class teachers, that ‘most class teachers will appreciate the fact that it is good for people to be able to speak another language’. As she clearly separated teachers into specialist and class teachers, it is implied that while there is a general welcome to *1+2 Approach* amongst participant practitioners, there may exist gap between language specialists and class teachers at the level of supporting the implementation of this policy. She continued, ‘The *1+2 Approach* has put a lot of pressure on Scottish primary teachers, because they are not necessarily qualified to speak and teach a language. So it is clearly implied here that the perceived source of the difference lies in different levels of expertise and confidence in the target language.

A major concern for teachers is whether the policy started by the Scottish Government can be supported and sustained. This feeling is conveyed in T6’s support for the policy ‘as long as you

can make sure people are supported’ and in her later remark, ‘We are still reviewing it, but we will try our best to do it. But we want to make sure it is sustainable. We will need to push it a lot. If there is not enough support coming in, I don’t know if it is realistic’. T6 also informed me, in extract (52), of her tacit uncertainty in relation to the sustainability of Mandarin teaching in her school cluster, observing:

(52) For lots of people they may think - for teachers - it is one more thing. Especially for some class teachers who are not language people, they may feel stress. And it is true, because it is 1+2 for now; for next time, it will be Health and Well-being... it is not 100% forever that [the teaching of Mandarin] is going to be the case.

In a similar vein, T7’s words, in extract (53), reflected the concerns amongst senior teachers that the *1+2 Approach* might be another impulsive and intermittent government action intended to address deeper Modern Languages issues:

(53) People who’ve just been teaching for a long time, like 30 years—they look at it differently than the younger teacher, who may think, ‘Oh yes, this is a great policy.’ They have seen it quite a lot and they’ve got a lot more understanding about how trends in Education work. I don’t think it is going anywhere’.

The above extract suggests that across participant teachers there is a view that the *1+2 Approach* is overall good in theory, but in practice is still a long way from being firmly established in the curriculum, with particular reference to the current scarcity of high level language teaching resources and support. This fits in with previous less than entirely successful initiatives on Modern Languages in primary schools on the part of the Scottish Government (Scott, 2015), initiatives that often appear insensitive to the continuing global dominance of English and the dampening effect this can have on Modern Languages education. It is therefore little wonder that participant teachers have a concern that this new policy might simply be one more initiative. It would also be true that any lessening of Government commitment - in the form of urgently needed and sustainable appropriate training and funding - could at this stage be likely to lead to a regression of the

language policy. This issue of policy sustainability of the *1+2 Approach* will be further discussed in the Section 6.5 with teachers' perceptions of the in-service training.

Despite these powerful factors, there are several elements that practitioners highlight in the belief that are important in justifying Modern Languages in primary schools.

It is in this context interesting to note that, firstly, referencing responses from Shanghai participant language teachers and policy makers (Chapter Five, section 5.2), we have seen that they present us with a clear and purposeful vision that the adoption of the English Language as the compulsory Modern Languages in Shanghai primary schools is for individual and national needs in relation to entry into the contemporary world. The ideology associated with the prestige of English could therefore be very pervasive amongst Chinese people.

However, from the interviews with participant teachers from Scotland, who possess the advantage of being English Language speakers, there is little parallel evidence of a deep-seated belief that Modern Languages competence is a must-have key to world communication. Instead, owing to the popularity of their own native language – English - the limited multi-language context of their schools, and the sheer *difficulty* of learning a new language, some of the participant teachers unreservedly informed me that young Scots might not be interested at all in thinking in the kind of outward-looking fashion that would sincerely motivate them to learn a foreign language. T5 conceded that, 'Historically we do not have good record in Modern Languages'.

It is interesting to note that amongst the five practitioners interviewed, only one, T5, also provided me with her insight, in extract (54), that the learning of a second language could help to develop children's fundamental literacy skills in their mother tongue through, e.g., the comparison and contrast of the two languages:

(54) You try to make them link the way they are learning the second language...to the way they learn their own language and trying to make links... I read some research that this supports all areas of languages learning in the

curriculum. I never had issues with children becoming confused with the difference of languages. They are well aware of the differences of languages

It is noteworthy that in T5's classroom, I did witness that she did often highlight cultural as well as linguistic differences between English and French to pupils. According to classroom observation of T5's high-performing French classes (see details in Chapter Seven, section 7.3.1), she exhibited a high proficiency in French language knowledge, and could confidently make comparisons between French and English where confusion was evident amongst children, bringing the broader language and culture of the target language country into the classroom. The children appeared highly motivated in engaging in classroom activities and very confident in speaking the language in activities.

T5 might have been alone in believing that Modern Languages in primary schools would be of benefit to children's literacy skills in their mother tongue, but she was not alone in believing in the *Critical Age Hypothesis* in Modern Languages learning.

Evidence exists from previous studies that, since the 1960s, several attempts to strengthen Modern Languages education have been made in Scotland, mainly from secondary school starting points and occasionally from Primary 6 in primary school (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a). In this historical context, the *1+2 Approach* aims, like its predecessors, to serve as a gateway for encouraging young people's later formal Modern Languages uptake through an early immersion in a more open culture of second language use and experiment. This recognition echoes H4's comments 'We can catch them very early to get them to enthuse'. The views of other participant teachers on the advantages of introducing younger children to new language learning are also worthy of consideration.

Chapter Two (section 2.5) has explained that documentation surrounding the *1+2 Approach* policy is very positive on the advantages of an early start to Modern Languages in primary schools (Education Scotland, 2015, p. 1), on the basis of a 'considerable body of evidence which indicates that young children learn languages more easily than older learners' (Scottish Government 2012b). Though the Scottish Government referred to no specific research evidence in support of this claim,

it was evident that there is a clear consensus across participant practitioners in this research that younger starters are more enthusiastic and lively in Modern Languages learning than older starters. This consensus was derived from participants' own teaching experience:

It is much easier for children to fit in very well with what they are doing in English. It is easier to integrate. And children enjoy it very much.

- - T6

I think when you start to teach Modern Languages in the early years the children respond very well. You can introduce it in a fun way. You saw this afternoon that the children were enjoying playing games, they were enjoying singing. And I think it is a very good idea to start in the early stages with children.

- - T5

In addition, perhaps owing to T5's background as a Modern Languages teacher in secondary schools for many years before teaching in C3, she informed me, in extract (55), that younger children's natural curiosity underpins an innate ability to learn. This makes them more ready to engage with Modern Languages-related classroom activities than teenagers in secondary schools - for example, because learning a Modern Language involves speaking out and making mistakes. These are factors that would inhibit older children's participation. Younger children are not afraid to play with languages. They are drawn into the magic of rhymes and songs:

(55) They [younger children] have no inhibitions when they are small. In the past we started to teach Modern Languages in secondary schools... you were teaching children at the age when they don't want to talk in any language. They are shy... self-conscious; whereas you saw the little ones: they are happy to play games; they are happy to sing and speak.

In line with this view, T6 also remarks:

(56) They also don't have quite the inhibitions compared to older students. So sometimes in the Secondary, when you are trying to (develop) speaking, they are too embarrassed.

It could be true that speaking in Modern Languages could be a source of embarrassment particularly for shy learners and those who feel they are not very proficient in the Modern Language. The influence of inhibition on one's behaviour grows with age (Gest & Rodkin 2011). It is argued that an older language starter (above age 12) is more likely to tend to avoid this embarrassment because they are at the age when they are most susceptible to peer pressure (Dörnyei, 2001; Harmer, 2015). They are attempting to live up to indicators that they believe are favoured by their peers (Bartram, 2006). This reticence and anxiety in speaking a second language in class can be a big barrier to older Modern Languages starters. Together with the general lack of instrumental motivation for Modern Languages in the Scottish context, older Modern Languages starters may easily be demotivated in secondary Modern Languages settings. The danger in relation to such concerns is indeed the phenomenon of young Scots being likely to drop Modern Languages study altogether in secondary schools. Younger children are remarkably indifferent to such contradictions. They are generally not aware that they are acquiring a language; nor are they aware of societal values and attitudes to one language or another. In echoing these statements, T5 informed me, in extract (57), that children in her classes displayed high language performance and confidence in later formal Modern Languages learning in their cluster secondary school:

(57) The secondary schools have said that they notice that the children coming from XX Primary [C3] are very confident and they know the structure of the languages. They can tell that the children are taught by a specialist.

In addition, all 5 participant practitioners made several comments in interviews that children 'enjoy' the learning of Modern Languages. However, with increased age and intellectual growth, they generated an awareness about the inhibiting factors. This situation suggests that the earlier there is consolidation of *positive* attitudes to Modern Languages, the easier it is to create a language-

friendly environment and to incentivise continued liking and learning of the language. As T7 stated, ‘It is the easiest way, to do it from early years’. And T6 echoed this: ‘With the youngest, they barely have that problem and just give it a go’.

This could be consistent with previous findings (Chapter Five, section 5.4) that the major benefits of early exposure to Modern Languages in the primary school were attitudinal. The younger pupils are less anxious and less inhibited and they worry less than older learners about mistakes or how they come across as non-native speakers (Muñoz, 2014).

In line with this thinking, it is well documented that younger children appear to have higher self-esteem and self-efficacy and they are often ‘*learning optimists*’ (Printer, 2011, p. 33). They rate their abilities highly, typically underestimate the difficulty of tasks and cannot yet differentiate between causes of success and failure. So, to maximise positive language learning attitudes amongst children, the message is the earlier the better with a language specialist.

Nonetheless, it is important to remember here that the relationship between the degree of motivation in the early years and positive learning outcomes in terms of high proficiency attained in later formal study is not always positively correlated (Lambelet & Berthele, 2015). Rather, children’s positive motivation to learn a Modern Language might decrease as they get older. A longitudinal study of language education practices at primary school level, which was conducted by *Early Language Learning in Europe* (ELLiE) in six European countries, shows us that with increasing age, motivation decreases (Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b; 2014). This may be for various reasons, e.g., the sheer difficulty of learning a language and peer pressures, issues that have been discussed above.

Interestingly, as T2 from Shanghai did above (section 6.2.1), T5 also supported the introduction of early Modern Languages with similar successful language learning stories about children managing polyglot or bilingual skills in her class:

(58) For example, some children in the school who perhaps speak Urdu at home. They saw English as a foreign language for them and they cope very well. And then when you introduce French, they know that they can cope ... we've also seen (this) in the couple of examples last year.

(59) And there was a girl. She is in P7 now. She came here just one year ago. She speaks Portuguese. And when she is in my class I was trying to teach French in English, so in two Foreign languages, so I did try to speak Italian too because the Italian and Portuguese have similarities... the teacher says that she is very able, and her brain has managed to cope with all these different languages... the class teacher said her written English is very good, she is a very intelligent girl.

As discussed above, it can be argued that some of these language-learners' success stories are unique or isolated cases which afford only weak evidence from which it is difficult to generalise to the whole situation in Shanghai or in Scottish primary schools. We can imply, from these above two examples, that children's ability to speak several languages could be related to the multi-language contexts in which they live: e.g., in extract (58), the child speaks Urdu for home life, English for school life and French as a subject. As to the girl in extract (59), who speaks fluent English, French and Italian in addition to her mother language, Portuguese, we can infer that she maybe an individual case, perhaps a girl with a talent in languages: T5 described her as 'a very intelligent girl' who 'managed to cope with all these different languages'. In this regard, again, caution is needed in reaching conclusions, because of the small number of children who live in genuinely bilingual or language immersion contexts that incentivise communication in several Modern Languages across different situations.

In addition, Scottish primary schools are mainly monolingual classroom settings, where children are taught a limited repertoire of expressions by non-native language teachers. As has been discussed above, native-speaker language proficiency can only be assured through massive exposure to language input. This is most unlikely to happen, however enthusiastic the teachers are, in general Scottish primary schools, where there is no statutory time for Modern Languages per week (Scottish Government, 2012b). While the *1+2 Approach* is implemented in primary schools, the teaching time in primary schools is left very much to the individual school's priorities. In this inquiry, exposure time to Modern Languages in the Case Study Schools was restricted to at most

an hour per week – 50 minutes per week in Case Study School 3 and 30-60 minutes in Case Study School 4. It is indeed difficult to compete with the total exposure occurring in second language full medium teaching, such as the Gaelic-medium primary education experience offered in Scotland.

Despite this, it remains true that Modern Languages of all kinds can enhance learners' other capacities, such as multi-cultural awareness. T6 stated in extract (60) that being monolingual might well carry cultural risks for children, such as becoming more 'self-centred' in a more plural world. Engaging children in Modern Languages learning provides a window on to different cultures and customs and, indeed, a mirror to reflect and help children to understand their own cultures:

(60) Children need to know that there are lots of people in the world doing the things that are quite different from what we do. And I think that why we are in danger, because children today are more like 'me me me, my life, my life' ...self-centred. So I think it is so important to do that across the curriculum.

In the same vein, T7 indicated to me in extract (61) that, in her class, she often discusses the cultures issue with children. In this way, children develop their multicultural awareness and understanding:

(61) I lived in China before. I do know the culture there... There is something that's heard from newspapers, such like one-child policy. P6 children sometimes ask such things in class. But I quite enjoy teaching those things, Because I get to know their bias, their prejudices. But that's what they are studying for.

T6 here considered that Modern Languages study is important for Scottish children as a means of knowing other cultures, with the clear inference that mono-cultural environments lead to mono-mind-sets when engaging with other important cultures in the world. Modern Languages may indeed be a very effective way to lead children into that richer and more diverse vision. Modern Languages therefore, in one way or another, could be products of and explanation of cultures and it might well be that the sheer radical difference between, e.g., English and Mandarin induces fresh forms of intercultural encounter and exchange.

According to the above interview findings with practitioners, the rationales they provided for Modern Languages in primary schools are various and include the expansion of linguistic capability, access to employment and enrichment of multi-cultural understanding. In addition to these elements, a key justification for Modern Languages in primary schools lies in its capacity to intensify children's attitudinal and dispositional inclinations, which are intrinsic benefits, along with linguistic proficiency or utilitarian purposes. These benefits need to become more central in the development of the primary languages curriculum and need to be used to shape expectations. In the next section the focus will shift to teachers' response to their professional development and support for the implementation of Modern Languages in schools.

6.5 Scottish teachers' responses: professional development and support

It is worth noting that the major difference between teachers in Shanghai and Scotland primary school sectors is that each Shanghai teacher usually teaches only one subject, while the Scottish teachers are generalists who are responsible for all areas of *Curriculum for Excellence*, involving, expressive arts, health and wellbeing, languages, mathematics, religious and moral education, sciences, social studies and technologies. As previously discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), in order to be a Scottish class teacher, one must acquire a Teaching Qualification (TQ) by following a university-led programme of Initial Teacher Education (ITE). However, this qualification does not necessarily equip teachers with the Modern Languages proficiency to implement the current *1+2 Approach* in primary schools. As well as this, the participant Scottish Policymaker, P3, also observed that teachers' language proficiency in teaching a Modern Language is likely to be questionable.

When I questioned the teachers about their confidence and expertise in teaching children a Modern Language, I received a general positive response. T5, the language specialist, was very confident that her language proficiency levels are adequate to teach the French course in the primary stage. Likewise, T7 conveyed the same confidence as she obtained an MA (Master of Arts) in Mandarin and is herself, as I can personally attest, a fluent Mandarin speaker. It can be presumed that T5 and T7's confidence to teach high quality Modern Languages lessons at Primary Stage was derived from their language specialist educational backgrounds. However, their cases are not generalisable

to teachers in many Scottish schools. According to the evidence covered in Chapter Five (section 5.5) with the policy maker, the current constraints on implementing the *1+2 Approach* are lack of appropriately skilled and language-qualified practitioners and lack of language capacity in the existing workforce:

Currently the biggest single impediment, constraint and challenge for councils in implementing the national languages policy has been the capacity of existing staff and the lack of availability of qualified language teachers.

– – Scotland Government (2016d, p.5)

T6, a non-specialist class teacher has some Mandarin. She stated in extract (84) that she believes her Mandarin level is adequate for teaching her pupils between the stage of Primary 1 to Primary 4, because the language content at this stage deliver is *basic*. For the Primary 4 onward stage, T6 realistically indicated in extract (62) that she was concerned that her perceived lack of Mandarin competence would restrict her teaching of meaningful Mandarin to pupils who may want to go on to an advanced level:

(62) For P1, P2, P3 and even P4, their knowledge [the language content] is basic. I don't need to be too much ahead of them. I know 1+2 means to continue in a long time from P1-P7. So I have concern of my level of knowledge to make sure of the progression to P7.

As has been discussed above in Chapter Five (section 5.5), teachers lacking Modern Languages proficiency could cause chronic problems for both children and teachers, where children would risk imitating the habits of teachers whose compulsory language learning was in the first place inadequate. It would also lead to what is known as Teachers' Impostor Syndrome' (Brookfield, 1995) - teachers at times feeling they do not deserve professional position because of their lack of competence in Modern Languages. For example, in the classroom observation of T6 (Chapter Seven, section 7.2), it was noted that she minimised her own Mandarin teaching time in her Primary 3 class and, instead, relied mostly on the online sound files and the Conversational Assistant (CA). We can infer from this that T6 was restricted by her lower intermediate level in

Mandarin. She taught this way to make her lesson ‘safe’, because she then did not need to be concerned about teaching the pupils wrong things. It is noteworthy that T6, during the time of the visits, was making efforts to develop her Mandarin with the weekly local Mandarin Workshops. She observed, ‘It is really important for the teacher to improve their language level...I think we fool ourselves to think that language level is not important in Primary Level’.

6.5.1 In-service professional development and training

As described in Chapter Two (section 2.5) and in Chapter Five (section 5.5) the Scottish Education authorities provide career-long professional learning (CLPL) to develop and maintain teachers’ teaching and the education profession, including Modern Languages skills development for *I+2 Approach* implementation. Participant practitioners (e.g., see extract [63] by T5) informed me that they are obliged to continue to develop their expertise and experience to meet the Professional Standards required by the General Teaching Council (GTC):

(63) We have to undertake at least 35 hours of CLPL, every session, every year. Every year we have a professional review meeting where we decide on targets for the following years things that we are going to try to achieve within our professional development.

---T5

It is implied that, in these CLPL opportunities, it is teachers’ and schools’ decisions to identify their own CLPL needs through annual professional review and development (PRD) discussions and self-evaluation. For example, T5 stated that she attends CLPL French courses which focus on teaching pedagogies rather than languages themselves: ‘I attended that meeting not to develop my French but to look at some ideas to different ways to teach.’

Despite this autonomy, however, given the crowded nature of the primary school curriculum, there is an indication that Modern Languages training time is likely to compromise other school priorities. For instance, The Head Teacher of Case Study School 3 observed: ‘I don’t want to push my teachers too much, as they have 8 curricular areas. Modern language is just a small part of the

curricular areas.’ T6 echoed this: ‘It is sometimes hard to get people to these lessons. Because they’ve got lives, they’ve got children.’

In 2016, the Scottish Government also launched another major government initiative to boost primary schools Maths and Science learning (Scottish Government, 2016b). This most recent initiative may also increase the difficulty for primary teachers and schools in deciding which curricular area needs more attention.

In addition, as previously discussed (section 6.4.2), Mandarin is the most taught Modern Language in Case Study School 4 (C4)’s local Associated Schools Group (ASG), and this teaching is supported by Hanban, a Chinese Government-funded institution which aims to promote Mandarin and provides funding to Local Authorities to extend the programme. Perhaps owing to this supportive background, T6 and T7 indicated to me that they had received some high quality Mandarin training, and that some training events are even, as T7 remarked in extract (64), ‘compulsory’:

(64) We have in-service days. Like this Friday, when kids are off and we are in school to take training session with Professor A, who has a lot of Mandarin work with Chinese. These are compulsory sessions. And we had language lessons for beginners last year. We got Mandarin teachers to teach after school. Once a week on Wednesday or Thursday evening. And teachers can sign up for it. That is an optional session.

T6, a class teacher also from Case Study School 4 informed me that she attends local Mandarin Workshops and would like to continue the training, because she is benefiting from the training sessions in relation to her languages proficiency: ‘I’ve attended a few, but I will go to more because it is into intermediate, not just [Ni Hao Ni Hao]’ (Basic level Mandarin).

It is interesting to note here that T7 added, in extract (65), that she believed that it is necessary to make the Modern Languages training ‘compulsory’. Because this would make teachers attitudinally believe the *1+2 Approach* is going to be sustainable rather than end up nowhere:

(65) I want more compulsory training to make teachers feel we have continuous support. And it is important to make people to feel it is supported and not feel it is imposed on them.

There is support for this view in the study by Aspachs-Bracons et al (2008), which sought to explore the difference between the implementation of reforms in two Spanish regions, one compulsorily implemented, one not. The result showed that the compulsory language policy appeared a more successful implementation than the optional policy implementation.

In the light of T6's and T7's statements above, we can infer that they both exhibit a positive reaction to these Mandarin training courses. When visiting the C4 school, I also experienced a positive atmosphere in Modern Languages learning across pupils and practitioners. For example, the school was fully decorated with children's works related to Chinese culture; and all the doorplates and signposts were written in three languages — English, Mandarin and French. I have seen that *I+2 Approach* implementation and teachers' in-service language training in Case Study School 4 were conducted smoothly, but it is still a long way from being continuously richly resourced by the Local Authorities. As discussed above, schools and teachers have many priorities in teaching other curricular areas as well as Modern Languages, so there is a perception that any lessening of the commitment to teaching and training for Modern Languages at this stage would probably result in a regression of the policy. Apart from the support described above, there were some other resources supporting teaching that I found in visiting the Scottish Case Study Schools. These were:

- Conversational Assistants (CAs) in schools
- School based lesson plan book

The following sections will discuss these two resources.

6.5.2 Conversational Assistants (CAs) in schools

One unique support feature of Modern Languages in Scottish primary schools is the presence of native Conversational Assistants (CAs) in the classroom. Previous studies show us that co-teaching with CAs would make the classroom a source of cultural, a source of spontaneity and a source of continuing professional development (Hoffman & Dahlman, 2007; Stoessel & Miles, 2008). In this inquiry, T5, T6 and T7 indicated to me that they found CAs an invaluable source of support. Because CAs could enhance their classroom implementation and could add value to children's classroom language experiences. At the same time, co-teaching with CAs should not be an in-class translation service. In order to make this co-teaching successful, the class teacher and CAs should work closely and openly with each other, and should work together to set both short-term and long-term goals for the class (Flanagan, 2007). In this regard, there is a perception that teachers are likely to be constrained from delivering meaningful lessons with CAs if they have a limited command of the Modern Language or a busy teaching schedule. Further discussion will be found on the presence of CAs in the classroom in Chapter Seven (section 7.3.2) with the evidence from the observations.

6.5.3 School-based lesson plan guidance

In both participant schools in this inquiry, teachers had significant autonomy to teach the language content that they themselves designed and believed appropriate for the pupils' needs. T6 remarked: 'We have a lot freedom. We don't do very prescriptive.' At the same time, she also argued that this freedom could be a double-edged sword - trust in teachers' self-monitoring accountability, but little support to help them discern the extent to which they are making progress. She gave an example of one of her teacher friends from another primary school in extract (66):

(66) But I know it isn't the case same with another of my teacher friends. They have to put their planning folder every week to get be checked... but it should be helpful. They can get a lot scope to do things they want to. But with another way, they won't be happy. Because they spend four years in University to be a teacher and to be able to make decisions.

In T6's school, Case Study School 4, class teachers are provided with a school-designed Modern Languages lesson plan book. This provides detailed and sequenced design, with language expressions, phrases and vocabularies and pedagogies for teachers to draw ideas from. In extract (67), T6 described this as a valuable resource for her teaching to ensure her lesson is making progress:

(67) I quite like that, because it gives a guideline and helps me to make sure that children are progressing and challenged.

So the *lesson plan book* would not be something that would restrict teachers' Modern Languages teaching; rather, it would make the lessons overall coherent and relevant. Teachers should be given autonomy and be accountable for finding ways to teach their children (Ballard & Bates, 2008). However, the lack of Modern Languages skills would risk undermining teachers' confidence and professionalism in using resources like this lesson plan book. Further discussion on this issue will follow with the observation data in Chapter Seven (section 7.3). For Modern Languages teaching in Scotland, I believe this would work effectively, but only if the teacher has sufficient experience and time to provide a consistent programme of work on his/her own, and also should have sufficient languages background knowledge to back up the decisions that have been taken. T5, from Case Study School 3, argued that this autonomy, could, however, be a pressure:

(68) The policy is very open. And it is kind of up to teachers. On the one hand, it considers to be good, because you have the freedom. On the other hand, you have a lot of responsibilities and I think there are areas in this country where people would ask 'What do we do?'. The outcome is very much like that too... so that is why I think they need specialists.

In addition to this, T5 informed me of her concerns for the quality of Modern Languages classes delivered by teachers with poor or no language background. It is, according to her words in extract (69) and (70), questionable whether primary teachers *without* high Modern Languages proficiency have the necessary experience to attain the professional levels needed to fulfil the ambitious expectations associated with the whole endeavour of *I+2 Approach*:

(69) I think it is a very big ask to expect primary teachers to deliver a language in which they are not qualified, and that concerns me that children will be taught the wrong thing. And with very young children they are like sponge; they absorb what they hear. You heard today: the children are hearing a good accent, and children copy a good accent. If children are hearing a wrong thing...

(70) A lot of people said it is okay because it is Primary; you are only teaching colours; you are only teaching numbers. But if you don't teach them correctly, then that will cause problems later on...I couldn't go to P1 and say 1+1 is 3, and somebody said, well it is close enough.

Moreover, extract (70) also shows that T5 dissented from the Education Scotland view, which states that ‘In line with the guidance for teaching a first modern language in P1, primary practitioners do not have to be fluent in the language(s) they teach.’ (Education Scotland, 2012, p. 7). T5 believed that teachers’ lacking Modern Languages backgrounds can cause chronic problems for children’s later language learning. Children would risk imitating the habits of teachers whose compulsory language learning was in the first place inadequate.

Drawing upon the above findings from practitioners on professional development and support, it is clear that the Scottish Government and schools do offer various types of resource to ensure the implementation of the *1+2 Approach*. However, the main problems that teachers still are encountering is the lack of Modern Languages skills, and this appears not to be solved in the short term. The findings suggest to us that the *1+2 Approach* has been designed by policy-makers on the basis of their prior ideological aims, and may only involve teachers in the implementation phase. The next section will summarise the contents of this chapter.

6.6 Summary

This Chapter has presented the interview findings related to *Policy Implementation Phase* of the research design. These include teachers’ responses to the inclusion of Modern Languages in primary education and to their professional development in two research sites. The findings reveal

that the practitioners in both research sites are positive to the existence of Modern Languages in primary schools. The rationale they are inclined to is that the earlier there is consolidation of *positive* attitudes to Modern Languages, the easier it is to create a language-friendly environment and to incentivise continued liking and learning of the language. Other rationales emerged in the Shanghai context, where a stronger orientation towards intrinsic educational benefits, rather than simply instrumental ones, was apparent. Moreover, as to the teachers' professional development, in both research sites, teachers' language capacities are the key to the success of the policy. The essence of the Modern Languages curriculum in both research sites, which aims to entitle children to meaningful language experience, can be achieved. The next Chapter will present the second part of the findings relating to the *Policy Implementation Phase* of the research design. The data from observations of primary classrooms will be presented to investigate similarities and differences in approaches to the teaching of Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai.

Chapter Seven: Result (C) Observations of policy in practice in schools in Shanghai and Scotland

7.1 Introduction

Having presented the findings of the themes of Perspectives from policy makers and Perspectives from teachers emergent from policy makers and Case Study Schools' practitioners in Shanghai and Scotland, we can see various perceptions of Modern Languages in primary schools, including recognition of the obstacles and issues of implementation in primary schools at both research sites. Some of the issues raised from the two sites are similar, some are unique to their own situations. In the meantime, we have also acknowledged the differences of the educational systems of the two sites, where Shanghai seeks to bring every child to an agreed standard through different mechanisms of support, while the Scottish system matches the curriculum to the needs and current abilities of the child. In this Chapter, evidence will be presented to further interrogate the Research Question 4 (Chapter Four, section 4.2) in relation to how teachers teach in order to meet the expectations of the Government, including the resultant similarities and differences in Modern Languages teaching pedagogies in the two different contexts of Scotland and Shanghai. The chapter will also present data obtained from non-participant classroom observations and after-class interviews with the class teachers in both contexts.

As discussed in Chapter Four (section 4.6), the observation schedule (Appendix 11) for this research focused on teachers' pedagogies in teaching Modern Languages classes. In the meantime, children's responses and reactions, which reflected the atmosphere of the classroom, are also taken into consideration as well. Before discussing the detailed observed evidence, an overall comparison results table is provided as below:

Similarities	Lesson plans:	Presentation–Practice–Production (3Ps) strategy with a teacher-directed play method.	
	Teaching recourses	Computer-Assisted Language Learning Instruments	
		Scotland	Shanghai
Differences	Seating arrangement:	U formation / Separated tables	Orderly rows
	Lesson contents	Culture & language content input (50% / 50%)	Little cultural input time Mainly languages drills
	Additional teaching recourses	Conversational Assistants School based detailed teaching plan	No Conversational Assistants (CAs) Textbook: which design and permitted by Shanghai Municipal Education Commission
	Teachers' L1 and L2 using time	T5: 50% L1 and L2 using time. T6: Mostly L1.	Most time in L2 – English

Table 5: Similarities and Differences between Shanghai and Scottish classrooms

7.2 Similarities

7.2.1 Lesson process: Presentation, Practice and Production (3Ps) method with teacher-directed play.

Across the observations, T1, T4 from Shanghai Case Study Schools, and T5 from Scottish Case Study Schools taught following the Presentation—Practice—Production (3Ps) strategy with a teacher-directed play method. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, there are three stages in this model. At the first stage, the teacher *presents* the target language. The teacher sequences the teaching by trying to raise children’s motivation with children-friendly activities and the sharing new language with children. At the second stage, the teacher engages children to *practise* the target language with scaffolding instruments – such as sound files and cartoon flashes, or the teachers themselves. At the final stage of the lesson, teachers afford children the opportunity to *produce* the target language as freely and communicatively as they can. At this stage, though, the teacher would offer minimal assistance. In the observed classes of this inquiry, practitioners — T1 and T4 from Shanghai’s schools, T5 from Scottish school—exhibit sophisticated organisational skills in Modern Languages classrooms. For example, in T5’s class in Scottish Primary School, which was aiming to introduce *cutlery*-related French vocabularies:

Presentation: T5 invites children to watch a cartoon of French conversation happening in a dining-room setting. Children are asked to explain what topics are involved, who is participating, etc.

Practice: T5 introduces *cutlery*-related vocabularies for the students, demonstrating correct pronunciation. Using child-friendly methods – flashcards and miming – to practise the cutleries vocabularies with children.

Production: T5 conducts children-centred activities – *Crossword* games with cutlery-related French vocabularies.

Chart 1: Teachers 5’s lesson process

And T1's class in Shanghai Primary School, which aims to teach the theme of *park*:

Presentation: T1 engages children to look at a picture of a park. Then asks children 'what is in the picture?'. Children respond with English vocabularies that they have already know, like *trees*, *flowers*, *boys* and *girls*.

Practice: T1 then introduces more vocabularies that is highlighted in the picture, such as *kite*, *bench*, and *swings*. T1 then ask almost every child to drill the vocabularies by repeating after her until she makes sure that every child can pronounce them correctly. T1 uses asking and answering questions with the target language. Such as 'where can you fly the kite?'

Production: T1 conducts 'children talk' activities involving composing simple dialogue with the new introduced vocabularies.

Chart 2: Teacher 1's lesson process

By adopting 3Ps strategy in classroom, the teacher often plays a more important and central role in organising activities and providing feedbacks to children where problems arise. In the meantime, the teacher-directed play method would enhance the centred role of teacher, because children play and learn in controlled activities or games that set by the teacher (Fisher et al., 2013; Tsao, 2008; Weisberg, Hirsh-Pasek, et al., 2013). In this regard, there is a strong need for language capacity of teachers to organise activities meaningfully, especially at the *production* stage. It is also noteworthy to remember that previous studies suggested that the 3Ps strategy is a more effective pedagogy for teaching Modern Languages to beginner level children than more experienced Modern Languages learners (Harmer, 2015). For older children who have had some Modern Languages experiences, teachers may need to minimise or avoid entirely the *presentation* time.

During the observation, I saw that T1, T4 and T5 had a clear time allocation for each stage of 3Ps in their classes. T6's class, a class teacher with one year of Mandarin experience, did not strictly follow the 3Ps. This may be attributable to the fact that her teaching focus is *culture*:

(71) I never do like 45 minutes' lesson. I won't even do that in literacy for young children. Because of their short attention time span. I usually do Mandarin every day. Like 10-15 minutes at the end of class. I just have a little game that they can play or activities. Doing culture things like 'Tiny Pandas, Chinese songs or something like that'. And that works, capture their imagination...

The advantage of this shift focus from linguistic skills to culture, according to Tierney (2018), could be its transferable nature from primary schools to secondary schools. Likewise, this could be good and safe for class teachers, who have limited language capacities, to focus on culture. Previous studies (Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b; Cummins, 1991; Bialystock, 2008) indicate to us that the advantages of early-start Modern Languages, in classrooms of the non-immersion type, when compared with older starters, lie in their sharpening of children's attitudinal and dispositional inclinations rather than their linguistic proficiency. In this regard, introducing Modern Languages with a cultural focus would keep the advantage of an appreciation of the multi-cultural approach to language which may then well incentivise children's subsequent uptake of foreign languages. It may well be also more realistic in relation to teachers' capacities and schedules. This echoes what T5 suggested in extract (72):

(72) I actually don't think it should be called '1+2 languages', I thinks it should be called '1+2 cultures'. if you can't teach Spanish, Italian or German, then I think it would be safer to just teach the culture of the country'.

However, it should be reminded here that the *1+2 Approach* aims to equip young Scots with two Modern Languages to make them as competitive as European young people in this globalised linguistically diverse world (Scottish Government, 2012b). In this sense, '1+2 cultures' suggested by T5 in extract (72), is surely not sufficient to fulfil the Government's expectations. If Modern Languages in the primary schools are mainly culturally oriented to intensify children's attitudinal and dispositional inclinations to Modern Languages learning, this enthusiasm clearly requires nurturing if it is to persist. Children will start to know that Modern Languages learning needs constant effort and time to be able to hold a basic conversation. Accordingly, previous research has indicated that whilst young Scots acknowledge the value Modern Languages competence (Evans & Fisher 2009), but their classroom experiences are unlikely fill their expectations on either

motivating or challenging enough to develop their skills to become Modern Languages speakers (Coyle, 2013). In this sense, teaching Modern Languages from culturally oriented perspectives could offer teachers security in their ability to teach, would ensure that young people have an appreciate educational experiences and maintain the continuity of Modern Languages in between primary and secondary schools. However, might this compromise the essence of what matters in the *1+2 Approach*, this could lead young Scots rejecting Modern Languages and then in favour of other subjects in secondary schools. There is evidence suggested that this is coming in (Doughty, 2013). There must be surely higher expectation or what Modern Languages offers in Scottish classrooms than the situation in this study.

7.2.2 Classroom pedagogy and practice – with a variety of activities

Previous studies and the findings above indicate to us that children are very enthusiastic towards the learning of Modern Languages and there is a strong case for an early-start to the task in order to capitalise on this enthusiasm (Cable et al. 2010; Muñoz, 2009). Children in observed Scottish primary schools and Shanghai primary schools were enthusiastic about participating in every activity. This is consistent with participant policy makers and practitioners' observations made many times in Chapters Five and Chapter Six, that children *enjoy* the learning of Modern Languages when they see themselves playing than studying. In the observed classrooms at both research sites, children developed language capacities through mimicking and speaking the language through various activities rather than only by rote-learning it. The carefully designed activities enable teachers to speak to almost every child within one lesson. In turn, the adopt of play-based activities for children in the four observed classroom means all are engaged in experiencing Modern Languages actively. It might need to argue here that younger children's natural curiosity could stimulate an innate ability to learn. They are drawn into the magic of rhymes and songs. We know that an important rationale for English Language teaching in Shanghai primary schools is to overcome the *Mute English* in later language use. Children in the observed classrooms in both Shanghai Case Study Schools exhibit high motivation and are willingness to speak. They exhibited a strong desire to mimic and speak out *sounds* that they hear either from teachers or from sound files. They appeared to have no reticence or anxiety in speaking the English language. This is in line with the suggestion from participant practitioner' interviews of both

research locations in Chapter Six (section 6.2 & section 6.4) — where they reach a common agreement that children have less inhibition in learning languages where they are less fearful of making mistakes.

However, we need to be cautious about the conclusions we reach based on teachers' general positive inclination to younger children's capabilities to acquire Modern Languages, given that these teachers have little evidence of the impact of these early years' experiences in Modern Languages on children's future achievements. Previous studies (Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b; Larson-Hall, 2008; DeKeyser, 2012a; 2012b; Murphy, 2014) indicate to us that early years' experience in learn a language do not ensure that learners will outperform those who come to language learning later. It worth noting here that previous studies suggested that children are likely to be more enthusiastic and more highly motivated language learners (Printer, 2017), but only in attitudinal inclination, not in linguistic skills. There is a consistent body of research to suggest that the advantages of younger learners learning a Modern Language may diminish if learning takes place only in a school environment with limited exposure to the language beyond that (Read, 2003; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Larson-Hall, 2008). Likewise, some studies also showed that the advantages of the early starter tend to disappear with time (Larson-Hall, 2008). Moreover, Muñoz (2006a; 2008) and Muñoz and Singleton (2011)'s results suggest that above evidence that younger languages starter do not appear to show high achievement of a Modern Language after years' learning, comparing to those later languages starter.

In this regard, there must surely be better, more persuasive justifications for Governments and schools to encourage Modern Languages in primary schools than simply attitudinal benefits for children. In the meantime, a long-term plan to encourage children's continuing motivation in Modern Languages is also need if this subject is to be successful throughout the school curriculum.

It is important to notice here that, as has been discussed in Chapter Six (section 6.2), one of the rationales for early start Modern Languages given by Shanghai practitioners is children's capability to effortlessly and accurately mimic the pronunciation heard, which in consequence, is perceived to develop children's confidence and to build their experiences of communicating with others. DeKeyser (2012a; 2012b) suggests that children more easily acquire better pronunciation

from sound files. From the observations in Shanghai Case Study Schools, despite the T1 and T4 themselves having some difficulty with some English intonation tones [judged by me], they did not avoid teaching pronunciation and intonation. Rather, they taught pronunciation through engaging children with more listening to the pronunciation from sound files. In this sense, I recognised that, even though the English language was in a phonic system different from Shanghai children's mother tongue, the children have no problem in mimicking the exact pronunciation and intonation that they heard from the sound files. This phenomenon is also evident in the Mandarin class of Scottish children in Case Study School 4, where Scottish children mimicked Mandarin accurately, naturally and easily. Moreover, from my viewpoint, who is familiar with both English and Mandarin, children's pronunciation is more natural and accurate than their class teachers.

However, it is also noteworthy that previous studies have demonstrated a variety of evidence on the quality of young learners' performance. Some argued that younger children are more likely to achieve native speaker-like pronunciation (DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005). Others, however, argued that younger Modern Languages starters may retain a foreign-sounding accent but keep native like fluency in the language (e.g., Piske et al., 2002; Uzal et al., 2015). Other evidence indicated that late Modern Languages learners can become native-like speakers if where and how the sound is produced is clearly explained, e.g. by showing them the location of the tongue in relation to the teeth, and the shape of the lips when making a certain vowel (Bongaerts, Mennen, & Slik, 2000; Kinsella & Singleton, 2014; Moyer, 2004; Muñoz & Singleton, 2011). In this regard, the evidence children's better pronunciation in the observed classrooms may not be sufficient evidence to suggest that better pronunciation is linked to early start Modern Languages learning. Thus we should challenge any simplistic notion that might link learners' better pronunciation in Modern Languages to the age of onset with the language.

Nonetheless, the spectacle of children absorbing everything eagerly without analysing it led to T5's concerned that these children could risk imitating the habits of teachers whose own foreign language learning is in the first place inadequate. According to the observation data above, the primary pupils did not see their teachers as 'non specialists' but as 'specialists' in a wide range of subjects. Harmer (2015) suggested that it is unrealistic and unnecessary to ask languages teachers to know everything about the language, but teachers should have enough language knowledge to

offer guidance as to where children can go to look for accurate information. In this sense, continuing Modern Languages training in addition to a requirement for primary school teachers to have an agreed level of qualification would seem to be key factors to ensure success in Modern Languages learning in primary schools.

7.2.3 Computer software to assist Modern Languages teaching

Across all classrooms observed, participant teachers in both research sites received a range of support mechanisms. One form of support, common to both locations, is computer technologies. Significantly, the participant Scottish policy maker, P3, indicated that online resources are one of the most important supports offered to teachers and that the Government had invested in technology to help teachers teach meaningful and efficient Modern Languages lessons (Chapter Five, section 6.5).

The contribution of computer-based technology to support effective teaching and learning in Modern Languages classroom is well documented (Gündüz, 2005; Greg & Dawn, 2010). The use of online resources and computer software in classrooms has a number of perceived advantages. For example, teachers can present visual materials in a dynamic and interesting way. In the observed classrooms in this study, computer software acted not only as a tool to demonstrate promptly children's language knowledge, but also as a means of providing a pleasurable learning environment through e.g. flash graphics, videos and movies. For example, T1 played an English conversation cartoon flash movie to children and asked them Wh-Questions related to the cartoon movie. Later she invited children to repeat some of the conversations within the movie. In this way, the movie served as a springboard to assist T1 to engage children in Wh-questions practice and pronunciation. A similar situation was observed with T5, who played a short movie on YouTube about *Pétanque* — a sort of boules game — to springboard the target French expressions to children, and then engaged them in a series of follow-up activities. Likewise, in T6's classroom, when children were engaging with the Crossword game, instead of the traditional activity of playing on the whiteboard with a marker pen, the pupils manipulated images on the electronic whiteboard with a special pen or with their fingers.

Computer technologies, moreover, also allow the teacher to present the teaching material in an enlarged version, so that the whole class can be drawn to concentrate on the classroom tasks at the same time (Coniam, 2003a; 2003b; O'Brien & Hegelheimer, 2007; Harmer, 2015). In all of the observed classroom in both research sites, children were easily attracted by this and displayed great enthusiasm for the material that appeared on the electronic whiteboard. It is worth noting that for some sceptics, these actions may point to a potential disadvantage of computer technologies, related to their supposed interference with contact between children and teachers. In T4's classroom, because children were concentrating so much on the electronic whiteboard, most barely had eye contact with the teacher during the activities. This was particularly evident when children were involved in 'repeating' tasks using the video files.

The teacher/pupil relationship controversies discussed above are similar to those identified in Chapter Five (section 5.5) where teachers' professionalism may be perceived to be being undermined by an over-dependence on resources. It could also be possible that computer software might ease pressure on teachers, reassuring them that even if they are not proficient in the language, they can temporarily use the computer to support them in their role (ibid). This reinforced the view that computers can serve as a useful assistant in Modern Languages classrooms. However, we should be cautious in that computer software cannot substitute for teacher professionalism. The software ought not to run the lesson for the teacher (Harmer, 2015; Chun, Kern & Smith, 2016).

In addition, since there is a wealth of online Modern Languages materials and software, it is the teachers' responsibility to select meaningful materials, and it is the teacher who should decide how best the computer might be used in her/his classes. Even if a teacher were to teach using the online materials, such as those from Education Scotland suggested as very helpful by the Scottish policy maker interviewed (Chapter Five, section 5.5), or the electronic textbook material designed and approved by the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission (2005, Appendix, 10), teachers' expertise is still essential in carefully selecting and tailoring these materials to their own contexts. In this regard, in order to work efficiently with computer programmes, teacher must be sufficiently confident in the Modern Languages to enable them to fully and flexibly use the language resources.

Lacking language proficiency can cause a loss of confidence in tailoring teaching materials for individual learners, and in sequencing activities appropriately for the different age groups or stages.

The use of computer software was seen in all classrooms observed. T5 in the Scottish school sector, a language specialist, made effective use of the computer software to support her teaching. Computer-assisted teaching time accounted for around 50% of the learning in her classroom. She was sufficiently confident to make smooth transitions between computer-assisted activities and non-computer-assisted or traditional activities. T5 expressed to me her strong feeling that teachers should know the language in the first place so that they then understand what language resources are correct for using with the young children with whom they work. She also argued, in extract (73), that there are also many less than helpful computer-assisted software programs; and ones deficient in proper language-learning design:

(73) You cannot even be sure that what you find on YouTube is correct. Because I have access to some on YouTube and have heard mistakes, so you have to be able to speak the language on your own so you can know which is correct...I do think that a lot of the teachers have no option because that was been asked by the government and that was been ask by schools. ... I don't speak German, ...although I am a linguist, I couldn't. So I do feel very strongly that... I don't know that the children are going to get the best experience.

This concern by T5 was echoed in T6's classroom, where the class teacher has some Mandarin. Despite reporting to me that she was comfortable and confident in teaching Mandarin, her Primary 3 class appeared to rely mostly on the online sound files and the Conversational Assistant (CA). T6, whose Mandarin level was at lower intermediate level, was working collaboratively with a CA. She was making efforts to develop her Mandarin by attending weekly local Mandarin workshops. When the CA was in the classroom, she led the language lessons using the computer based programme. When the CA was not present, the teacher was able to continue the language lessons using the same programme that they had designed together. While she was improving her Mandarin skills, the computer software provided a safety net for her making her feel that her lesson was 'safe', and she did not need to worry about making mistakes when teaching the children. In the meanwhile, she also stated that while she found these computer-assisted techniques very helpful, she recognised that they could not teach everything, e.g.: intonation, because of the

monotone sound of computer generated language: ‘We have video and sound clips. But we can’t always rely on that. Such as the Mandarin tones’.

T1 and T4, from the Shanghai Case Study Schools, did not face the same challenges in choosing teaching materials because the software and the wider materials they use are selected and approved by their school based Teaching and Research group and the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission. They also must possess language capacities at certain specified levels to tailor and manage these electronic materials in order to teach meaningful Modern Languages teaching.

Computer software often offers a single form of instruction in the same format, and include many activities that can be used at more than one level if the teacher knows how to use them appropriately (Harmer, 2015). Teachers, therefore, need to be able to sequence the difficulty and richness of language practice using these materials but crucially this learning has to be responsive to their pupils. For example, in T4’s classroom, when she demonstrated electronic materials to children based on a short expression *She/ He is a student*, she noticed that some children in her class were confused about the words *he* and *she*. T4 then provided two examples to children in explanation: *He is a boy/ She is a girl*. This prompt response reflected the importance of the teachers’ own language capacity and of their teaching skills. These are not qualities easily replaced by computer programs. In relation to language content, it is worthy of note here—as discussed above (Chapter Six, section 6.3) and further below this Chapter (section 7.3.3.2) — across the observation, it was found that that the uniform type of software adoption made T1 and T4’s teaching very similar in terms of the lesson content, procedure, and management. Further discussion on this phenomenon will be provided below with the discussion on the use of textbooks.

It is also important to note that the use of computer-based presentation technology inevitably demands significant resourcing. A general criticism of computer hardware and software is that they are very expensive (Coniam, 2003a). More than that, the continuous training required for teachers to acquire and update their computer technology skills should also be taken into consideration. Since participant teachers and children in this study worked very well with the computer software across the study, it could be argued that the funding and training in the four Case Study Schools in each research site had been appropriate and sufficient. However, difficulties

could arise if schools have more limited funding and cannot secure such resources. There is a vital need for well-planned sustainable funding from governments if teachers are to continue to develop their competence in Modern Languages in primary schools and if all primary schools are to reach genuinely ambitious goals in the long term.

7.3 Differences and Contrasts

7.3.1 Classroom seating arrangement

Classroom management, including the way in which a teacher organises her/his classroom, is based largely on their own beliefs about how best to support children's learning. (Gremmen et al, 2016). These decisions are also likely to be influenced by school policies. The classroom seating arrangement influences classroom climate and students' relationships with each other (Gremmen et al. 2016; Gest & Rodkin 2011; McKeown et al. 2015). Some researchers (Farmer et al. 2011; Gest & Rodkin 2011; van den Branden, 2016) suggest that a classroom seating plan may have potential consequences for learners' academic achievement. The observations in the two research locations revealed to me one of the distinctive features of the two contexts was the seating plan – where observed Shanghai classrooms were in orderly rows, observed Scottish classrooms were in a U formation or in groups of tables.

7.3.1.1 Shanghai - Orderly rows

In T1 and T4's classes, children sat individually in orderly rows each with a desk in front of them. This is a traditional, orthodox seating arrangement, which has both advantages and drawbacks. On the one hand, orderly rows allow teachers to have a clear view of all children, and vice versa. It is also easy for the teacher to approach an individual child and to make face-to-face contact. Harmer (2015) argues that one of the main purposes of having orderly rows in classroom is to make discipline easier because children are less likely to be disrupted in a row seating. When asked about this, T1 and T4's responses indicated that they held supportive and positive views of this seating arrangement because this arrangement would meet their expectations of children's appropriate behaviour. T1 suggested, 'it is easy to manage the class'. This was echoed by T4: 'You don't want

children to move their feet too much in class because that would cause chaos and may waste time'. However, on the other hand, this kind of seating arrangement limits opportunities for children to talk and interact with their nearby peers rather than have whole class discussion (Harmer, 2015). Some researchers, however, argued that orderly rows are best for improving information transmission from teacher to students (Gremmen et al., 2016). I observed that in T1's class, perhaps because of this ordered seating, in the observed T1's lesson, she often tended to ask children questions in the row order, one by one and line by line. This makes the procedure more tedious and drill-like. In this regard, it might be inferred that T1 and T4 hold subject matter oriented beliefs (De Vries et al. 2013) with a strong focus on the transmission of knowledge and see the role of the teacher as knowledge expert.

Previous studies (Chapter Two, section 2.4) suggest that shedding inhibition is critically important to children's language learning, especially in speaking a language. Arguably, this seating arrangement could increase children's inhibition at this critical and sensitive age. For example, in T1 and T4's classroom, there was hardly a child who turned around to make contact with children behind them. When they did, they did it furtively. This may indicate that children are inhibited and believe that contact with peers is not an appropriate thing to do. However, in accordance with prevailing international research evidence (Hedge, 2000; Harmer, 2015), I believe that such contact is necessary: Modern Languages classroom should be an intimate place, and the potential for children within it to share feelings and information through various interactions, such as talking, eye contact or body expressing, is vitally important. Interpersonal contact between students due to low physical distance can positively influence their social perceptions of each other. This is consistent with intergroup contact theory and the contact hypothesis, which state that contact can effectively reduce negative peer perceptions and can increase liking amongst peers (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Peer relationships are powerful sources that could influence individuals' behaviours, and any positive and negative behaviours in the classroom could be reinforced by peers (Gest & Rodkin 2011).

7.3.1.2 Scotland - U formation / Separated tables

In T5's class, children sat around groups tables, while in T6's class, which was a relatively small class with 20 pupils, the whole class of children sat in a U formation. Both U formation and groups of tables are clever compromises where all children are free to see the board as well as facing each other for making contacts in support of other non-teacher-centred forms of learning (Cook, 2013; Harmer, 2015). At the same time, Harmer (2015) argues that it may lower barriers between teachers and children, because there is a far better sense of equality than in orderly rows settings where the teacher stays alone in the front.

In T5's class, I observed that the teacher spent the lesson walking around tables to make contact with each child. Likewise, tables in a group setting make it much easier to organise activities with children in different ways. The teacher can work as a whole class or in table groups, in pairs or individually. In T5's class, which lasted for 50 minutes, she managed to make smooth transitions amongst a group competition activity, whole class dancing and singing activities, pair conversation and a miming task where children were organised sitting down at the front of the room. Children were highly motivated and responded actively. In T6's classroom, where children sat in U formation, there were also a plenty of room for children to sing, dance and sit randomly on the floor.

The choice of seating arrangement seemed to reflect the different classroom priorities in the two cultures and the differing roles of the teacher in the different school environments (Fives & Buehl, 2008; Gest & Rodkin, 2011; Kuzborska, 2011). We should not take a simplistic view on which classroom arrangements as superior or inferior to other classroom types. Gremmen et al. (2016) revealed that children in traditional classrooms tend to be more attentive than those in round table / U formation seating classrooms, while according to Kuzborska (2011) the round table / U formation seating arrangement was better at promoting children's interactions. In this sense, the difference in the classroom seating arrangement that we see here in the two research areas may signal to us that Scottish primary schools prioritise a message that learning language is fun and to intensify children's attitudinal and dispositional inclinations to Modern Languages learning. Conversely, Shanghai primary schools, though certainly teaching Modern Languages in a child-friendly way, convey a tacit subject-matter-oriented belief that focuses essentially on the

transmission of language knowledge—and where teacher maintenance of good behaviour is extremely important.

7.3.2 The presence of Conversational Assistants (CA) in classroom

Another dramatic differences between observed Shanghai and Scottish Modern Languages classrooms is the routine presence in Scotland of native speaker Conversational Assistants, who serve as models for pronunciation and also as fluent speakers with a wide and varied language resource. Both Scottish Case Study Schools in this research employed Conversational Assistants (CAs) to support their teachers' teaching, while this is certainly not the case in Shanghai primary schools. It is widely assumed that Conversational Assistants (CAs) are valuable resources as they thrive linguistic models and norms in Modern Languages classrooms (Creese, Blackledge & Takhi, 2014). On the other hand, the mode that class teacher and native CAs dichotomy in classroom has been challenged by a number of scholars (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Cook, 1999, 2007; Holliday, 2006; Kubota, 2009; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1999; Rampton, 1990; Creese, Blackledge & Takhi, 2014). A main reason they hold in consent is that the teaching competence of CAs is at mixed levels.

In this inquiry, T5 and T6 from the Scottish sample indicated to me that they found CAs an invaluable source of support. CAs are seen to be adding cultural resources; and a source of continuing professional development. The following sections exemplify these two advantages of CAs with the observation data in Case Study Schools' classrooms.

7.3.2.1 Adding cultural and spontaneous resources

According to British Council's booklet for Modern Languages assistants in the UK (2017-2018), it states that the role of CAs can be to improve students' confidence in communicating in that target language, and to bring classes to life by discussing contemporary aspects of culture from their home country. Across the observations, the French CA in T5's class shared his stories, such as the weather of his hometown, and invited children to compare it in French with the weather in Scotland. This echoes another example in T6's classroom, where the CA invited children to sing

Chinese folk songs with her. In this way, the CA acted as a convincing and fresh resource, capitalising on her/ his wider and varied language background. As T5 remarked in extract (74):

(74) I like the Foreign Language assistant coming in. Because children, the little ones, sometimes ask me, am I from France? I said No, I am a Scottish... My French is just as good, but I don't know everything, such as Pokemon in France, you see children ask today... It is great for a foreign language assistant to be able to come in to let children to see what is the French for Pokemon!

In addition, children can have real life language contexts in class or even after class with CAs to develop their speaking confidence. At my visit in Case Study School 4, the Mandarin CA worked full-time in the school with children. The French CA also played Pétanque with children in the playground. In this sense, CAs can be seen as a live Modern Languages resource that children can approach and interact with. The aim here clearly is for children to stop feeling that Modern Languages is a subject irrelevant to their daily lives, and to see that it is a necessary tool that they rely on to communicate with the CA who is living and learning in community with them.

7.3.2.2 A source of continuing professional development

As discussed above, for various reasons Scotland has limited opportunities for conversation in Modern Languages classes. CAs, in this sense, can help maintain teachers' fluency and refresh their vocabulary, as well as giving both teachers and children up-to-date knowledge of everyday life in their home country. In the observed T6's class, she co-taught with a Mandarin CA. When the Mandarin CA took over the class, T6 sat at the back of the classroom and presented herself as one of the pupils who repeated words and phrases with the CA. In this regard, we can infer that, although CAs are employed to teach the children, they may provide unanticipated benefits for teachers in terms of improved pronunciation, language structures and intercultural understanding.

It is important to note here that hiring CAs in schools are highly recommended and promoted by British Government as they found them an invaluable source of support (British Council, *Role and benefits of a language assistant in the UK* [Online]). However, there are still demands for evidence of CAs in classroom practices which demonstrate the effectiveness of learning experiences and

outcomes for young people in terms of linguistic and intercultural competence. For example, in T6's classroom, we observed a lesson that is separately presented by class teacher and the CA. However, Creese, Blackledge and Takhi's (2014) study on native CAs' classroom practice indicated us that meaningful Modern Languages classrooms do not separate the target language and native language teaching time. Comparing with letting the class teachers and the CA in dichotomy teaching, they find that class teachers them own are at the best position to teach target language and children's community repertoires together, and use local knowledge to engage children. In this regard, the government need more evidence and investigation on whether the introduction and investments on CAs in schools is meaningful to children's Modern Languages experience.

In Shanghai, there are few opportunities for schools to hire Conversational Assistants, because they are unlikely to be fully registrant teachers with General Teaching Council of Shanghai approval. This means there is no official qualification standard applied to them. Against this backdrop, there is little wonder that there were no CAs in the two Case Study Schools in Shanghai, chiefly because there was no desire to risk children being taught by an un-trained person. As stated by T1 in extract (75),

(75) We once, for only one term, had an American university graduate in school to introduce children to speaking. That was not a good experience for children. He had no TESOL qualification whatsoever, and he knew nothing about teaching and nothing about the Shanghai primary school system. All he knew was...his mother tongue... His class was purely playing games. The children seemed to enjoy his class, but we didn't see much progress at all.

Owing to the major differences in educational systems and beliefs, and across Western and Chinese teaching methods, there is little surprise at T1's statement. We also can infer from it that, if aiming for a successful introduction of CAs into schools, CAs themselves should not be excluded from teachers group. In the same vein, CAs-specific teaching qualifications and appreciation of the school's educational culture are also essential.

All of that said, other Shanghai participant teachers still indicated to me their positive attitudes towards CAs in classroom, subject to a qualification standard for them. It is important to note here that, in early 2015, Beijing Local Authority (2015) launched a trial policy *English Conversational Assistants in Primary and Secondary Schools in Beijing (Trial)*, which aimed to standardise native English Language teachers' qualifications. There is little review of this and no report is yet available (2018) on the policy, since it is still on trial. However, at least we can see that the government has recognised the importance of the contribution of CAs to English Language in the classroom

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7.3.3 Textbooks and target language using time

Another difference between Scottish and Shanghai classroom is the different attitudes of the use of textbooks and the language using time. The textbook is a resource has both advantages and challenges. The advantage of textbooks has been well documented (Cook, 2013; Harmer, 2015), such as, providing sequenced procedures for the lesson as well as providing a powerful stimulus for the development of teaching methodologies; In the meantime, restriction of textbooks is also obvious (ibid), such as its limited choice of topics, and its bland and sometimes culturally inappropriate contents. Across the observation and interviews, I recognised that participant Scottish teachers prefer textbook-free in classroom teaching. While T6 indicated that she likes the fact of school-based *lesson plan book* — a book that provides detailed language contents for teachers to draw ideas from, she does not want to be given a particular textbook to teach to follow, remarking, 'I won't be happy if given a book. Because I spend four years in University to be a teacher and to be able to make decision'. In the next following section, I will present the using of textbooks and teachers' target language using in classroom of each research site respectively.

7.3.3.1 Scottish teachers

T5, as a language specialist, designed her own French curriculum of her class. In her classroom, her French using time is around 50% of the teaching. She smoothly switched between French and English wherever it needs — either to organise activities or to make explanations to pupils. In this bilingual environment, I found that children possessed high enthusiastic to ask questions to T5 —

mostly in English. In this sense, children were not restricted to ask question speak their own language. This is different to the below discussed situation in classrooms of Shanghai Case Study Schools (section 7.3.3.2), where children barely asked teacher questions as the teacher organised the classroom activities and agendas in English language full time in class. This brings a sense to children that they are restricted to speak their mother tongue. Hence the question asking time were reduced. While in T5 class in Scottish context, she taught not only the French Language, but also discuss the French cultures and customs to children. Her class presented a cultural and linguistic combination. In addition to this, across observations (4 times) with T5 classes, T5 presented a high capability and confidence to teach the French to accord to the need of her classes. In her classes, she sometimes taught with CA, sometimes taught with a language volunteer from cluster secondary schools, and sometime taught by herself. She offered lessons sequentially, dynamically, and relevantly. Children, in return, learnt and responded actively.

Since T5 is a specialist and taught only the French across the whole school, hence we can presume that her impressive Modern Languages classes are supported by her language background and time to construct meaningful lessons. However, this is not the general case in Scottish primary schools, where they can have a specialist to teach the lesson. As we have discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.6), most teachers are trained to be generalists whom the Modern Languages are not their priorities.

T6, a class teacher, taught with the guidance of the school-based *lesson plan book* that she and other teachers and language teachers designed together. She indicated to me that *lesson plan book* could provide her suggestions and alternatives to conduct a lesson, remarking:

(76) I quite like that. Because it gives guild line and help me to make sure that children are progress and challenged...When the first year I teach Mandarin, we had no this plan. It was like a self-explaining training. You know you are going to teach "Greeting". But you don't know what literacies what phrases should be doing.

According to the above extract (76), we can also infer that the *lesson plan book* for T6, or maybe other class teachers alike as well, could serve as a collection of language knowledges. In this regard, teachers could, from one perspective, have autonomy to teach the lesson to meet pupils' needs. At

the same time, with the guidance of *lesson plan book*, teachers can ensure that there are progresses being made.

T6's Primary 3 class was also in a bilingual context, where she co-taught the lesson with a Chinese CA. T6 spoke mostly English e.g. to give brief introduction of activities and disciplinary management, and the CA took over the most Mandarin language input. I noticed that pupils in T6's classroom present enthusiasm, generous and confident in not only celebrating the language but also exploring the cultures. T6 indicated to me that, in her language classroom, she often discusses culture and customs with children in classroom — obviously in English, remarking:

(77) There is something that [children] heard from newspaper, such like one-child policy. Primary 6 children sometimes ask such things. I quite enjoy teaching those things. Because I get to know their bias, their prejudices. But that what they are studying for.

We can infer from the above T6's comments in extract (77) that, like T5's classroom, the bilingual environment in primary schools' classroom provides children opportunities to broaden their knowledge to other cultures apart from languages itself.

7.3.3.2 Shanghai teachers

Across the observation in the Shanghai primary schools, T1 and T4 taught with textbooks (either paper or electronic version), which were designed and approved by the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission (2005, Appendix 10). T1 and T4 indicated to me that they are in favour of the use of textbooks, because textbooks not only provide them with a collection of language content for them to teach effectively and sequence, but they also help children to become self-learning and revise the knowledge at home (Harmer, 2015). There is an essential message here that language teaching in Shanghai primary schools' classrooms make the textbooks *become* the curriculum may of course be dangerous. We should be cautious that, as we have discussed in the Chapter Six (section 6.3), resources are supposed to support a forward-planned and well-implemented curriculum, not become it. It is worth noted here that Harmer (2015) suggests in his work that textbooks *can* be used effectively in classrooms if teachers make some changes to book

content but not vandal the textbook. For example, if the contents the textbook not substantial, the teacher could add extra language practice situations or even re-design some of the exercises in classroom practices. It is, indeed, that the use textbook appropriately is an art which requires not only teachers' language capability but also teaching experience.

Across the observation in Shanghai Case Study Schools, teachers indicated to me that they routinely reserved the right to decide when and how to use constituent parts of a textbook. However, T1 and T4 appeared reluctant to make big changes to the content of textbooks in their teaching. That is, they tended to teach from the sequence of textbook contents. T4 observed: There was an occasion when the Head-teacher asked our teachers to design our own curriculum according to the textbook, to make lessons interesting. That didn't work very well. That is difficult for us. We teachers think if you have abilities to design a curriculum, you shouldn't be a primary school teacher. These fears of teachers could be attributable to two factors:

- We have acknowledged from teachers' interviews in Chapter Six (section 6.3.1) that participant teachers do *not* commonly position themselves active researchers who constantly reflect on their pedagogy and implement innovations in relation to student outcomes. Rather, they see themselves more as the compliant policy end-user in the bottom of educational hierarchical system.
- Maybe owing to the collective and collaborative nature in Shanghai primary schools we have acknowledged in Chapter Two (section 2.6) and this findings (Chapter Six, section 6.3), it is no wonder that teachers in this study are reluctant to work individually. In this respect, it is safer and more reassuring for teachers to teach to a textbook.

It is also worth to present here that, in both T1 and T4's English classes, I found little *Anglophone culture* introducing time. Most teaching in their classroom contents focused on language phrases drills and vocabularies buildings, through the usual children-friendly scaffolding instruments – sound files and cartoon flashes. It is also interesting to notice here that The content themes are more 'Chinese culture' seen through an English interpretation. creating a misleading portrait of

Anglophone cultures. For example, the theme that T1 taught in her class — *Kites* — is more of a Chinese public activity than an activity that people would do in Anglophone countries.

In order to understand this phenomenon, it is worth to remember here that compulsorily teaching English in schools is seen as, by scholars like Phillipson (1992), risk to produce as a form of *linguistic imperialism* because it is seen as a soft form of hegemony through which the Anglophone countries imposes its cultural, political and economic power and values. We have to notice that English Language teaching today is quite often recognised as a way to promote the global expansion of English and its embedded cultural values (Pan, 2015). Coleman (1996) argued that such culture, political and economic values and beliefs may be in conflict with those of a language learners' native culture and may thus threaten the learners' cultural identity and integrity. For this study in particular, where Chinese culture and values are distinctively different in many ways to Anglophone cultures, the goal of English in schools, suggested by Wen (2012), should not only develop children's awareness and appreciation of other culture, but also develop children's abilities to use target language to share Chinese culture with people from the other countries. In this regard, it is no wonder that we may see many *English-interpreting Chinese culture moments* in T1's classroom. This could engage children with the world popular language — English — and yet to take English education as opportunities to consolidate children's own cultural identity.

Moreover, across the observations, it is noteworthy that T1 and T4 taught the English Language in English for the almost whole class time, including introducing the lesson theme, organising classroom activities, and providing quick and simple feedback to children — e.g. *very good; You are on a right track, but....* T1 and T4 indicated to me that teaching English lessons in English is regarded as a *good model* for teaching language lessons in accordance with their schools and the Shanghai Educational Executives' wider ideology. For example, in *Shanghai Curriculum Guidance for English Language* (Shanghai Government, 2004, p. 3). This ideological outlook offers clear encouragement for 'teachers to create a native like English language environment, in the belief that, as a result, children acquire English effortlessly, like they acquire their mother tongue'. However, as have discussed many times in this study, this stance towards early-years language acquisition in monolingual schools is rejected by previous research. The general consensus is that successful early second language acquisition only happens in a fully bilingual or

immersion context, or in a partial immersion (Cummins, 1991; Bialystock 2008; Johnstone & McKinstry, 2008; Crichton and Templeton, 2010a). This is not the model in T1 and T4's schools, where the English Language course is only a few hours a week. It is also noteworthy here that despite teachers' use of English in the classroom, these uses are mainly confined to introductions or giving instructions. This is unlikely to produce the kinds of any meaningful relationships through which children might develop communicative language skills with their classroom English Language experience.

It is also interesting to note that, in T1 and T4's target-language conducted classrooms, while children responded promptly and accurately to the *teacher's commands, such as stand up, sit down, close the door, open your book*, etc., the communications between teachers and children in T1 and T4's classrooms were mostly one-off – the teacher asks and the children respond. Children barely proactively asked questions at all. In this sense, we can see that the atmosphere in the observed classrooms where teachers are speaking English exclusively might induce the fear that children are being actively denied the right to speak in their own languages. The children may then be inhibited in asking questions at all. Yet, as we have seen, much previous research has confirmed for us that the pupil voice is critical in the classroom, since it is a vital source for checking children's progression (Nunan, 2003; Cook, 2013; Harmer, 2015). In this sense, encouraging teachers to teach the English Language in English alone may be not a wise idea in terms of creating an open and relaxed language learning environment in the ambitious, stimulating and supportive primary schools that we all believe our societies need.

7.4 Summary

This Chapter has presented the findings data observations which are related to *Policy Implementation Phase* of the research design. The findings above presented focus the similarities and differences in approaches to the teaching of Modern Languages teaching in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai. Drawing on these observed findings, we can be revealed that Shanghai's Modern Languages classrooms had a strong focus on the transmission of knowledge and see the role of the teacher as knowledge expert. While Scottish observed Modern Languages classrooms played the children's needs at the centre of the teaching. The finding also indicated to us that

children in the observed classroom in both research locations exhibited less inhibition in learning languages, and easy good pronunciation, and they are less fearful of making mistakes in both research sites. Moreover, the high standard organised classes by the participant language specialist from Scottish context (T5) indicated to us that the continuing Modern Languages training in addition to a requirement for primary school teachers to have an agreed level of qualification are keys to ensure success in Modern Languages leaning in primary schools. The next Chapter will discuss and summarise the findings of this thesis and present recommendations arising from the investigation; and will also identify limitations of the research project and identify further areas for research emerging from this study.

Chapter Eight: Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I will integrate and synthesise the issues raised in this study. This will include a discussion of the relationship between policy makers and practitioners interviewed in the process of Modern Languages implementation in schools, and the differences and similarities of the Modern Languages teaching practice in the two research sites. I will also present the summary findings related to each research question in the light of the detailed discussion presented in the preceding three findings Chapters. This will be followed by a discussion of the recommendations, areas for future research arising from this thesis will be proposed, and limitations of the study discussed. Finally, the chapter will end with a conclusion section.

8.2 How key theories helped me to interpret the data

In order to understand the governance and policy processes of the two research sites, this study used governance theory (*hierarchical* and *networks framework*), *evidence-informed policy making* and *Modern Languages power framework* to frame this study. As has been discussed in Chapter Three, hierarchical governance (Les & Stevenson, 2006) is related to bureaucratic rule-making processes, with a clear expectation that subordinates (schools and teachers) must implement decisions made by the government. Networks governance decentralises the executive power of government and allows more resource exchange (e.g. finance, information, expertise) amongst policy actors in the policy community (Ball, 2012a). This model proposes more positive interactions with the stakeholders in policy communities.

This study reported that China has a centralized governance structure which is led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as is well documented (Yuan, 2000, Lu, 2003, Hu, 2007, and Pan (2015). Shanghai has been afforded relatively high autonomy to design its educational policy, while still embracing and being influenced by the ideology from the central government in Beijing. In this regard, the *hierarchical governance framework* is used by me to understand the educational policy implementation in Shanghai. Within this framework, the focus for this study has been on

the feasibility that teachers can teach in order to meet expectations of the policy—because hierarchical governance is often unable to give sufficient consideration to developing the practices of frontline practitioners since it is imposed top-down by the government making it less likely that the government’s expectations will be met (Hu, 2007). In this regard, I analysed the participants’ responses with a focus on the responsibilities and roles the teachers discharge in schools, and how they then implement Modern Languages policy.

I found that in participant Shanghai schools, Head-Teachers and the teachers and staff are ranked and functionally labelled. Teachers, who sit mostly at the bottom of the hierarchical policy implementation chain, are often compliant policy end-users, rather than active participants who constantly reflect on their pedagogy and implement innovations in relation to students’ outcomes: aiming to teach English in order to meet the schools’ requirements. Participant Teacher 2 exemplified this position by comparing the teacher to a nail for holding educational things together so as to meet requirements. In this regard, we can infer that the participant Shanghai policy maker’s confidence that ‘*all*’ teachers are qualified to teach English in primary schools is attributable to these top-down bureaucratic control mechanisms – chiefly by fostering an examination system designed to promote upward social mobility. At the same time, teachers have limited autonomy to offer English classes catering for children’s own needs or for developing their own pedagogies. Teachers in this way are treated more like technicians rather than experienced professional educators. Teaching should be more about making judgements than following rules (Borg, 2011). It has multiple goals and its resources include teachers’ experience, judgement and local knowledge as well as research. Further discussion will address this issue in section 8.4, which examines the relationship between the Shanghai policy makers and teachers.

In the fieldwork in Scotland, there is not a strong emphasis on this hierarchical organising feature in the educational system. Rather, Scottish policy making and development are often claimed to be evidence-informed, e.g. in the form of the *Analytical Services Division* of the Scottish Government. This means instead of deriving policy prescriptions from a rigid ideological position, the Government proceeds pragmatically by taking account of data that have a firm basis in research (Humes, 2018). Moreover, the Scottish National Guidance on education is often designed by a collaboration amongst Scottish Education Department and representatives from Local Authorities

(LAs), Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), and Non-Departmental Public Bodies, such as Education Scotland and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). All these bodies work in partnership with central government and, theoretically, have equal power and influence in the policy community. In the meanwhile, LAs and schools can then implement the educational policy in practice according to their own local circumstances. Since the Scottish education system *appears* to foster a more positive interaction with the sectors of policy community, the *network governance framework* is adopted by me to guide my analysis of the relationships between policy and practice. Networks are informal and fluid, with shifting membership and ambiguous relationships and accountabilities. These flows and movements allow shared conceptualisations of problems and solutions. They contain flows of ideas as well as flows of people, and ideas which are carried back and forth across boundaries between the public and private sectors. In the light of this theoretical background, I analysed the data with the focus on whether the policy initiative ideologies and strategies genuinely flow and are meaningfully shared by interrogating the consistency of policy makers' and practitioners' interactions, in terms of the expectations, as well as the feasibility and the vision of Modern Language in Scotland's primary schools.

According to the findings, I ascertained that the communication between the ambitions of Scottish policy makers' ambitions and practitioners' pressures and constraints is not adequately aligned. For example, T5 dissents from the Education Scotland view, which states that 'In line with the guidance for teaching a first modern language in P1, primary practitioners do not have to be fluent in the language(s) they teach.' (Education Scotland, 2012). Likewise, T6's concern about the monotone and un-sequenced nature of computer software generated language lessons is at variance with the policy maker's offer of sound files supporting lessons. The reasons for this could be attributed to what appeared to be different agendas being pursued by teachers and policy makers. It may also reflect a greater degree of ideology informed rather than evidence informed policy making; and the absence of what is known as *intermediation* between policy communities and practice sectors. Further discussion on this issue will be provided in section 8.4, which interrogates the relationship between the Scottish policy makers and teachers. Finally, the concept of *evidence-informed policy making* is adopted to help me to determine whether the use of evidence is inherent to policy-making in either or both of the two research sites.

The success of the implementation of educational policy intentions depends on the expertise and commitment of individual teachers across the country. It is often noted that practitioners, as policy end-users, do not engage with the policy documents simply as readers and followers. They come with teaching experiences and their own perceptions (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 2017). In this regard, the notion of teachers' perception is also adopted to help me analyse teachers' responses in order better to understand whether and how their perceptions of current Modern Languages policy might affect their teaching. Previous studies have indicated to us that teacher perception is a personal system which is contextualised and influenced by particular environments and circumstances (Borg, 2006). According to Kagan (1992) and Coffey (2015), a teacher's perception can be formed and influenced through the intertwining of three elements – the context (e.g., related to specific groups of students), the content (e.g., related to particular academic material to be taught), and the personality (e.g., embedded within the teacher's unique belief system). In light of this theory, I analysed teachers' perceptions with the focus on the teachers' own Modern Languages experiences, the schools' contexts and the Modern Languages environment of their particular overall settings. For example, in the Scottish context, Teacher 5 (T5) exhibited a high degree of confidence in and enthusiasm for the advent of the *1+2 Approach* in primary schools, and her Modern Languages classes were impressive and meaningful. When analysing her perception of practice, I took into account T5's background as a specialist who teaches only French across the whole school. Hence, there is a recognition that T5's case is not reflective of the norms in Scottish primary schools.

Moreover, I constructed a Modern Languages power framework to help me to understand the power relationship between Modern Languages and the context of the research sites respective. In light of this theory, I understand that there is a strong alignment amongst the discourse of the Shanghai Government and the discourses in business and societies. For example, according to the response from the participant Shanghai teachers and policy makers in this study, we find that there is a consistent acknowledgement that English Language should be purposefully treated as a vital educational key for entry into the global world, and the need to promote the spread of ideas of English Language is privileged across the country. In the same vein, the Modern Languages power framework offers me an insight into the discourses of sectors of business industry, societies and Scottish Government. In the Scottish context, the discourses amongst these sectors are grounded in competing discourses. For example, I used this theory to analyse the participant teachers' and

policy makers' responses to the challenges that the *1+2 Approach* in Scottish primary schools encountered in attempts to realise its philosophy and rationale. In the light of Modern Languages power theory, these challenges are linked to the privileged status of English as the language of international communications and culture, which may increase the difficulty for Scotland to predict which Modern Languages are worth learning for Scottish children for e.g.: the future job markets. On the other hand, Scottish liberal democratic free market, culture constraints lead all stakeholders to reach a consent of a vision or policy.

To further understand the primary schools' Modern Languages policy and practice in two research sites, I will summarise ways in which the evidence from this study addressed the main research questions and the research findings. The following section will first now re-state the research objectives of this study before discussing the key findings for the research questions.

8.3 Research objectives

At the beginning of this thesis, I introduced the setting of the study in Chapter One (section 1.6) and discussed, in brief, the importance of exploring the relationship of policy expectation and policy implementation, especially, in two locations that have different educational systems. Drawing upon the above concepts of the policy making process and globalisation and teachers' perception, I set key research objectives in order to understand the implementation of Modern Languages in Scotland and Shanghai, as listed below:

- a. investigate the expectations for Modern Languages learning in state-funded primary schools in Shanghai and Scotland.
- b. investigate teachers' roles and influence in the policy implementation in Scotland and Shanghai.
- c. deepen our understandings of the rationale for the early development of Modern Languages in Shanghai and Scotland as largely monolingual environments.
- d. seek to understand key issues and constraints affecting Modern Languages implementation in both research sites.
- e. develop a deep understanding of the differences and similarities of the education systems

of Scotland and Shanghai.

- f. explore differences and similarities in Modern Languages teaching pedagogies in Scottish and Shanghai classrooms.

The first four objectives (a, b, c, d) are related to the relationship between policy and practice in Scotland and Shanghai. The last two objectives (e and f) are related to the question of similarities and differences in policy implementation in Scotland and Shanghai. In the next section, the discussion on the research questions with key findings from this study will be presented.

8.4 Addressing the research questions

8.4.1 The first Research Question of this study sought to explore the relationship between policy makers and practitioners in the process of Modern Languages implementation in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai respectively.

8.4.1.1 Scotland

In the Chapter Three, I assumed that the participant Scottish policy makers and participant Scottish teachers would be in a network relationship in the policy community, where there would be more interaction and consistency between participant teachers and participant policy makers via intermediate staff. However, the findings of this study indicate that the conversation between policy makers and practitioners involved in this study, on the issue of Modern Languages in Case Study primary schools are not always as fluent or fluid as might have been expected. There are several possible reasons for this.

First, *inconsistent* voices between teachers and policy makers may be attributable to the different agendas that teachers and policy makers work to (Ozga, 2004). Given the fact that Education is seen as a vital component of Scottish identity, Scottish policy-makers implement policies in order to keep making improvement and change. For example, in this study, the participant policy maker referred to the ideological ambitions of his government — to nurture new generations of multi-lingual competitive young Scots and their determination to drive a languages revival in primary

schools that would serve these larger ends. Policy makers are of course ultimately accountable to the electorate and to other powerful stakeholders (Brown, 2015; Humes, 2018), while Scottish teachers, the participant teachers in this study in particular, who are supposedly at the centre of the CfE educational process and pedagogy, occupy the decisive place in determining the contents and methods of Modern Languages teaching in the classroom to meet children's needs, whatever their political masters propose.

In this study, teachers in the two Scottish Case Study Schools were of course subject to control from local authorities, where they teach Modern Languages as required, even if this is sometimes in tension the broader professional values that they feel that they are striving to protect, for example, in the compromise of their Modern Languages teaching expertise and their professional ethics of child-centeredness. Hence teachers interviewed believed that the *1+2 Approach* was overall good in theory, but they all indicated their concerns that the policy would struggle to be effectively implemented in practice given the current scarcity of high level language teaching resources.

Second, the logic of the evidence-based policy making approach suggests that policymakers should use evidence to predict challenging issues that may arise, use this evidence to design a programme to address it, subsequently implement and evaluate it and use the evidence emerging to improve the initiative; to engage in a virtuous cycle of change. However, the findings of this study suggest to us, that at least in this study, *1+2 Approach* is designed by policy-makers on the basis of their prior ideological investments, and may only involve participant teachers in the implementation phase. This same issue is found in Shanghai, as has been demonstrated in the Chapter Five (section 5.4), the policy maker interviewed in this connection indicated that the main motivations for *1+2 Approach* derive from the cross-party consensus on the need for improvement in young Scots' Modern Languages skills, with a manifesto commitment to bring young Scots Modern Languages skills into line with young people's language capabilities in Europe. Accordingly, the policy maker (P3) interviewed conveyed to me certain expectations of young Scots, remarking that accessing the global business world properly was a significant motivation behind government policy (Chapter Five, section, 5.4). Teachers, however, as the key to ensuring the realisation of this expectation (whatever its credibility or legitimacy), rarely had their voices heard in terms of professional readiness and confidence and often seemed not to receive sufficient consideration at

the incubator period of the policy initiative. In this study, participant teachers were enthusiastic to develop their Modern Languages skills and pedagogies, but the *1+2 Approach* did not win their hearts convincingly given the inconsistent record of previous Modern Languages policy implementation, together with the fact that schools and teachers, amidst the turbulence of CfE implementation, had many competing priorities beyond Modern Languages. I found that participant teachers believed that only sustained and relevant support from local government could enable the *1+2 Approach* to continue and flourish. Hence, any lessening of teaching and a related commitment to professional learning in Modern Languages was likely to result, in the eyes of participant teachers, in regression.

Thirdly, as discussed above, the lack of effective *intermediation* between policy makers and practitioners in the policy implementation process could be regarded as the main obstacle to successful policy enactment in this area. According to Humes (2018), the intermediate staff⁸ are often in an ambivalent position, in having to satisfy both policy makers and teachers, on the one hand, aiming to drive the Modern Languages agenda in primary schools forward, while on the other hand fully understanding teachers' pressures and constraints. However, their limited professional power in the relationship means that the communication of teachers' concerns to central government receives little in the way of a guaranteed adequate response. In this regard, the procedures for policymaking in Scotland need to be radically clarified, formalised and the relationship between policy and practice made more transparent particularly between policy makers and teachers.

8.4.1.2 Shanghai

The assumed relationship between the participant policy makers and participant teachers in Shanghai, which was discussed in Chapter Two, is mainly hierarchical. Consistent with this well-attested assumption, the findings of this study demonstrated a clear hierarchical structure in the policy making and implementation process, which is in the order of Central government

⁸ The person who produces materials and explain and promote approved policies to groups of teachers throughout Scotland (Humes, 2018).

‘governance ideology’ (e.g. the idea of opening up to trade the outside world and self-reliance and self-independence [Tisdell, 2013]). The sequence is ostensibly straightforward: from Shanghai Education Ministry to Schools to practitioners.

Like Scotland, the Shanghai participant policy maker also indicated to us a Government / Party (Chinese Communist Party) ideology-driven policy making system. The motivation for English learning in primary schools was in line with the ideology of the central government. In this study, the Chinese policy maker interviewed indicated to me that China as a nation prioritised its role in the world, adopting an outward-looking gaze, learning from and wishing to influence thinking in other countries, chiefly to serve domestic development. This by now familiar ideology is embraced and passed down to the subordinate Local Authorities, schools and ultimately the practitioners themselves. I found that teachers interviewed in this study conveyed sentiments that emphasised English Language as a vital practical medium for young people to pursue academic and personal wellbeing. But they held these beliefs in the context that English is an international auxiliary language in a *world* context rather than merely for its functionality in Shanghai itself. In addition, in this study, the participant policy makers’ response indicated that the government drives the educational system by making English Language compulsory in the examination system. On the other hand, they also seek to influence the youth of China fostering a belief in the examination system as a means of promoting upward social mobility.

It is suggested that power is linked to the role an individual holds and his/her position in such a hierarchical system (Cumming, 2016). This governance system might of course risk failing adequately to reflect the way in which policy may encounter challenges from the bottom up (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). In this study, I had clear evidence that participant Shanghai teachers not only endeavour to teach to meet the requirement of schools, but also attend rigorous preservice and in-service training courses. They also have to use uniformly designed textbooks agreed by the Shanghai Government. The compulsory nature of these features in education, not only comes to occupy and represent a position of privilege and power, it also silently and invisibly constitutes a compliance culture. In this study, the participant teachers informed me that any sense of a broader rationale for Modern Languages action is seen as the domain of those perceived to be higher level professionals like policy makers and researchers. This was not the role of the teacher. However,

no one policy without adaptation will meet the needs of all schools' situations, and no one pedagogical plan will fit all teaching practice. It is therefore potentially very dangerous to leave teachers at the bottom of a hierarchical educational system, where they mostly comply with the requirements of *schools* more than satisfy the various needs of *children*. This may also be problematic as it could consequently undermine teacher engagement and morale, where the practitioners seem to be recipients of the policy or respond to the requirement from their 'boss', rather than interpreters or producers of actionable knowledge.

8.4.2 The second Research Question this study sought to address the rationales for implementing Modern Languages in primary schools.

8.4.2.1 Rationales: common in both research sites

It is important to note here that, as we have seen in Chapter Six, one of the rationales for Modern Languages in primary schools, one that achieved consensus across policy makers and teachers across both research sites is the uncritical acceptance of the myth that the earlier the easier to successfully learn a Modern Language. This is linked to a belief that since children acquire mother tongue effortlessly this skill will automatically transfer into Modern Languages learning. Both participant Scottish and Shanghai practitioners (T2 and T5) supported the introduction of early Modern Languages with similar successful language learning stories about children managing polyglot or bilingual skills in their classes. However, these anecdotes of successful multi-lingual children are mainly attributable to the multi-language contexts in which they that lived. Hence, it can be argued that some of these language-learners' success stories are unique or isolated cases which afford only weak evidence from which it is difficult to generalise to the whole situation in Shanghai or in Scottish primary schools. In contrast, there is a consistent body of research to indicate that younger Modern Languages starters achieve no better mastery of the language when compared to older Modern Languages starters (Muñoz, 2006a; 2006b; 2008; Muñoz and Singleton, 2011). Rather, many argue that the advantages of younger learners learning a modern Language are diminished if learning takes place only in a school environment with limited exposure to the language beyond that (Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Larson-Hall, 2008).

Modern Languages can be a source of embarrassment particularly for shy learners and those who feel they are not very proficient in the Modern Language (Dörnyei, 2001; Cook, 2013; Harmer, 2015). A strong argument can be made for starting early on the basis that young children are not sufficiently developed cognitively to possess hostile or suspicious *attitudes* toward their surroundings in areas such as race, culture, ethnic groups, social class and languages. Hence, they are less afraid of embarrassment in making mistakes or in how they come across as non-native speakers (Printer, 2017). The findings here, both participant teachers' indications and classroom observation echo this statement. Children were not afraid to play with languages. They were drawn into the magic of rhymes and songs.

Furthermore, one participant teacher (T5) also indicated that older Modern Languages starters, who are in the process of developing self-identity often see making mistakes either as a threat to their reputation and dignity or as a source of negative evaluation from the teacher or their peers. Hence, they are more likely to prefer silence most of the time and are less willing to take part in classroom activities. This might also contribute to an explanation of the previously described 'Mute English' phenomenon (Liao & Wolff, 2010, p. 23) amongst Chinese language learners. The fear in such worries may also, at least in part, contribute to the phenomenon of young Scots being likely to drop Modern Languages study in secondary schools.

Previous studies showed us that the accurate pronunciation of some language is critical for increasing intelligibility— 'when the speaker's intended utterance is actually understood by a listener' (Derwing & Munro, 2005, p. 385). Accurate pronunciation is associated with efficient conversation and hence to improving children's confidence in speaking that language. Across all the classrooms observed, I did see that, in this study, children's pronunciation is more natural and accurate than their class teachers. Although we should not simply link learners' better pronunciation in Modern Languages to the age of onset with the language, young children's capability to effortlessly and accurately mimic the pronunciation heard could be perceived to develop children's confidence and to build their experiences of communicating with others.

All Shanghai's participant policy makers and teachers indicated to me with a tacit implication that standard pronunciation is regarded as an important feature of someone who is perceived to be a

successful English Language learner. This is because the pronunciation is so challenging and yet so vital to Chinese learners if they are to gain confidence and increase their effectiveness in communication. Two key issues emerge, firstly, in early-years (Age 5-9, see definition in Chapter Two, Section 2.2.1) language learning in China, pronunciation is vital because of the shift from a tonal language to an inflected one, with the potential for serious error and inhibition. Secondly, the early years of primary school can indeed represent a window of opportunity before Mandarin pronunciation habits become entrenched. Apart from the advantages of beginning language learning in the early-years discussed previously, there is also a consensus across policy makers and teachers from both research sites that Modern Languages may indeed be a very effective way to develop children diverse cultural vision and awareness, and enhance their capability of learning a language.

8.4.2.2 Scotland

In this study, the participant Scottish policy maker argued that the psyche that English is enough needs to be constantly challenged or it may impoverish the multi-cultural and multi-linguistic ethos in Scotland. Moreover, the Scottish policy maker interviewed indicated his opposition to the unthinking acceptance of the popularity of the English Language as a lingua franca because it might drag Scottish people into a passive situation where the advantage of being native English speakers in the English dominated economic-globalised world is lost in those areas of economic and social life where more than one language is needed. If true, then this could reduce young Scots' aspirations in Modern Languages learning and increase the risk of young Scots not having the kind of language skills necessary to compete with their European peers for employment. Consequently, there could be a danger that young Scots—even in the Brexit era— will increasingly lose out on employment opportunities and ultimately that there will be a negative impact on the Scottish economy.

It could, in principle, be true that Modern Languages, especially the UK's top trade-oriented languages, might help individuals to exploit the benefits of the global market and keep improving trade globally. It could also be true that many international businesses may prefer to recruit young people with language skills to enable them to work effectively in international contexts. However,

owing to increasing number of English learners in this globalised world, it would be often easier for them to find young Europeans who have English in addition to their first language. In this regard, the young Scots do not have the kind of language skills to compete with their European peers for these jobs; and so again there could be a danger that Scottish young people would increasingly lose out on employment opportunities and ultimately could lead to a negative impact on the UK's economy.

Moreover, as discussed above, for non-native learners, investing time to learn to speak enough of the language to demonstrate respect and interest is one thing. Learning to speak well enough to actually conduct business in a Chinese related commercial environment is quite another. In this regard, there would have to be a long-term plan to incentivise children's longer term, sustained motivation in Modern Languages if this domain means to be successful in the school curriculum.

8.4.2.3 Shanghai

Participant policy makers' and teachers' responses indicated that the compulsory nature of English in the examinations system in China, and in Shanghai in particular, leaves schools and children no choice but to accept the place of English Language in the primary school curriculum. In addition, the historic *One-child Policy* (1979-2015) leads in effect a single chance for families who try to seize educational opportunities for their only child. A *Two-child policy* had been launched in 2015 that may ease this situation a little. Together with the dominant examination culture in Shanghai, where with its high GDP and crowded demography, leads to pressures of competition and expectations to enter the best secondary schools and universities that are ever higher than other cities in China. Hence the commitment to learning English, a mainstream subject in many of high stake examinations in one's life, is unsurprisingly strong.

In addition, according to the data from this study, the powerful drive for English learning in Shanghai is not only derived from making English a compulsory subject in the curriculum itself, but also from instilling an ideology in young Shanghainese that English is a 'necessary affiliated tool' for the global market (Shanghai Government, 2004). However, neither the participant policy makers nor the participant practitioners in the study articulated the vision that most Shanghainese

school leavers would speak fluent English, nor did they have a vision that young Shanghainese would have many occasions to speak English in daily life. In this regard, it might be implied that the global market and economy-oriented government ideology is developing a strategy to make young people pursue something that they may be not be able to use in future, e.g. English skills in Shanghai's monolingual environment.

English Language education has been made compulsory and there is determined commitment to it by the Shanghai Government and by individual learners. This position could lead to an assumption that there would be a significant increase in the number of English Language users in Shanghai in future. However, the evidence from this study is surprising. Neither the policy makers interviewed nor statements from Shanghai Government appear to articulate a vision that considers the impact of the growth of English Language learning, and only English Language learning, in primary schools when designing educational policy. Given the fact that the dominance of Mandarin has led to the reduction of Shanghai local dialects and even to the extinction of some other dialects, it is important that the Shanghai Government should consider whether their commitment for successful English Language education for every young Shanghainese and the compulsory setting of English in curriculum and examinations might possibly impoverish broader issues of language and cultural diversity.

8.4.3 The third Research Question in this study sought to identify the issues and constraints of the successful Modern Languages implementation in primary schools

8.4.3.1 Scotland

Previous attempts in teaching Modern Languages in primary schools identified a range of factors that might impact negatively on the success of Modern Languages programmes. These factors include inadequate levels of competence being developed in teachers and inappropriate pedagogies for teaching early years and inadequate transition arrangements between primary and secondary school (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a; Tierney, 2018; Myles, 2017). The findings of this study indicate that several issues around the *I+2 Approach* that might influence the success or failure of its implementation.

Firstly, the current level of Modern Languages competence of the class teachers in Case Study primary schools is variable. Participant teachers did suggest that lacking Modern Languages proficiency can cause chronic problems for both children and teachers, where children would risk imitating inappropriate language habits from teachers whose own Modern Languages learning was not adequate. Moreover, lacking language proficiency can cause a loss of confidence of teachers in tailoring teaching materials for individual learners, and in sequencing activities appropriately for the different age groups or stages. Since the success of Modern Languages in primary school depends on the expertise and commitment of individual teachers, improving provision for Modern Languages training and resources to teachers is the key to the success of the Modern Languages in primary schools. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that lack of time is the participant teachers' greatest constraint. Participant teacher faces classes for several hours each day, spend many hours every week giving feedback on pupils' work, preparing lessons and in meetings. The fact that teachers have so many disparate priorities in schools make them hard to decide what needs most attention (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a).

In addition, the teachers interviewed were concerned that this new policy might simply be another impulse action. Interestingly, they suggested to me that Modern Languages training should be 'compulsory'. This could make teachers attitudinally believe the *1+2 Approach* is going to be sustainable rather than to be abandoned. Aspachs-Bracons et al.'s study (2008) suggested that compulsory language policy appears to lead to more successful implementation than optional policy. But this is not always true and it also comes with many disadvantages if we take the Shanghai participant teachers' experiences in this study as a reference. Nonetheless, given the reference to less than entirely successful initiatives in Modern Languages in primary schools on the part of the Scottish Government (Crichton & Templeton, 2010a; Scott, 2015), it is still important to note that any lessening of Government commitment—in the form of urgently needed and sustainable appropriate training and funding—could at this stage lead to regression in the language policy.

It also worth noting again that, in the classrooms observed, I saw that teachers placed a great emphasis on the intercultural elements. This is a wise compromise for teachers who either have

little or no Modern Languages background. The advantage of this shift from language-oriented to cultural-oriented teaching is well recognised for its effectiveness in making a Modern Languages transition from primary to secondary school possible, extending even to changing attitudes to Modern Languages course choice later in secondary school (Tierney, 2018). However, this might compromise the essence of what matters in the *1+2 Approach*; the aspiration to develop Modern Languages skills to enable young Scots to be as competitive as young people in other countries in this globalised world. Perversely, mixed messages about rationale could lead young Scots to reject Modern Languages in favour of other subjects in secondary schools (Doughty, 2013). Hence, there must surely be higher expectations for what Modern Languages offers in Scottish classrooms than this impasse.

8.4.3.2 Shanghai

As stated at the start of this study (Chapter One, section 1.2) English Language learning in Shanghai primary schools has been a long-established subject, and fully embedded into every child's curriculum, but with very disappointing learning outcomes, e.g. the Mute English phenomena amongst Chinese English Languages learners (Linnell, 2001; Liao and Wolff, 2010; Coniam, 2014). One of the aims of this study is to suggest how the success of English Language education in primary schools might be improved.

Drawing from the data of this study, there are several emerging factor that may hinder effective English Language teaching and learning in Shanghai schools. Firstly, Shanghai does not require teachers to have an appropriate qualification in English Language.

No evidence given by participant policy makers made reference to teachers' English language proficiency requirements. As discussed in the Chapter Six (section 6.3), no English Language proficiency requirement for teachers in primary schools in Shanghai risks making children arrive with very diverse English Language experiences when they transition to secondary school. Moreover, it might be more dangerous if teachers in question have themselves poor quality English Language. e.g., having the *Mute English* problem themselves, and therefore not able to teach the language effectively. In addition, Pinter's (2017) research about what counts as success in primary

language teaching programmes suggests that English is best taught by the generalist teacher or a class teacher who ideally has a level of English at least at CEFR B2, which roughly equals to the level of English Major graduates in the university. Together with the huge number of English Languages major graduates in universities in China (Pan, 2015), therefore, the message emerging here suggests English Language would be better taught by English Major graduates if the government aims to maximise a positive language learning attitudes amongst children.

Secondly, the teachers' compliant nature and deference towards higher hierarchical layers risks may be damaging to their professional development and practice. The findings of this study show that teachers interviewed tended to prioritise compliance with a host of bureaucratic demands as more important than satisfy the various needs of children. They implied that they presume that the schools' requirements are good for children's needs in general, and hence they leave *what is best for children* to higher level professionals. In this study, I found that teachers' professionalism appears to be undermined by an over-dependence on compulsory resources, e.g. School-based teaching plans, model class pedagogies and uniform textbooks. In essence, the model lesson plans, or even the textbooks become the curriculum, rather the individual teachers in particular teaching circumstances. Equally troublingly, teachers interviewed did not appear to recognise this attack on their professional values, nor did they deplore the de-professionalization and the de-skilling that treats them as a 'nails' rather than as experienced professional educators.

8.4.4 The fourth Research Question in this study sought to explore the similarities and differences between teachers' pedagogies in teaching Modern Languages in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai

8.4.4.1 Similarities

Both Scottish teachers and Shanghai teachers taught following the Presentation – Practice– Production (3Ps) approach in their Modern Languages classrooms. All teachers observed displayed high capabilities and confidence in organising a Modern Language lesson. Children observed in both Scottish primary schools and Shanghai primary schools were highly motivated, responded actively, and were enthusiastic about participating in every activity. However, we

should bear in mind the obvious enjoyment by the children is not necessarily a sign that learning is taking place. Long-term effects must be taken into account (Cook, 2013). It is argued that the curriculum depended wholly on the expertise and energies of highly trained teachers (Gatherer, 2018). Hence, to continue to develop teachers' competence within well-planned sustainable programmes Modern Languages, it is crucial that meaningful, sequenced Modern Languages experiences are offered to Scottish children.

Apart from more traditional support mechanisms, computer software programs are being used in classrooms in both research sites to support Modern Languages teaching. As has been discussed in Chapter Seven (section 7.2.3), the computer software programmes come with advantages and disadvantages in classrooms. These programmes are a worthwhile tool to assist teachers but there is a need for Government investment to support Modern Languages teachers in the effective use of these resources. But we should be also cautious. Computer software cannot substitute for teacher professionalism. The software ought not to run the lesson for the teacher; it is the teachers' responsibility to select meaningful online materials (Harmer, 2015; Chun, Kern & Smith, 2016).

8.4.4.2 Differences

The major difference between Shanghai and Scottish classrooms emerging from the data is that: Scottish teachers have more autonomy to decide their teaching methods and organisation. This is consistent with the statements of Gatherer (2018) that Scottish teachers play a central role in the management of pedagogies and teaching content. Teachers play a central role in determining the content and methods best suited to pupils whatever the politicians and their disciples propose. In this sense, children are at the centre of the Modern Languages teaching.

However, Scottish teachers have limited power to ensure the sustainability of policy implementation, e.g. funding and training. Hence, they expressed concern that support should be sustained and sustainable long term by the government, which they would regard as evidence of the determination by government to address the *1+2 Approach*. Moreover, Scottish teachers must trust their professionalism and values. They clearly sense that Modern Languages is not a priority in their initial or continuing education, hence teachers' ability and confidence in the *1+2 Approach*

inevitably comes under question. As discussed before, some participant teachers expressed concerns about teaching children inaccurate Modern Languages knowledge. These factors should be weighed as part of an evidence-based policy making process.

While Shanghai teachers in this study are treated more like technicians than experienced professional educators, sadly, they are accustomed to this situation. The teachers interviewed, who have limited power either to influence the policy or to interpret the policy, tended to associate themselves with the collective and collaborative *Teaching and researching group*, where they could *learn*, or copy more precisely, teaching pedagogies and values from experienced and senior teachers. In this way, they could reassure themselves that their teaching was on the right track to meet curriculum requirements. However, Brown and Rogers's study (2015) argued that the essence of this kind of school-based *Teaching and researching group* could work effectively only if teachers combined research knowledge with practice knowledge. The findings of this study also indicated that hierarchies also exist in the *Teaching and researching group* itself, where its putatively collective and collaborative nature might actually reduce the chance for some teachers (particularly junior teachers) to be innovative in their teaching practices. Rather, they do not want to risk challenging existing school-based curricula and pedagogies. In this study, I have seen participant teachers working on the detailed teaching plan and textbook with children. Teachers in this study often seemed to weaken pupil ownership by imposing roles and tasks that controlled the content and flow of lessons. To be most effective, teachers should prioritise their role as an active researcher to develop expertise in using experienced teachers' pedagogies, rather than simply replicate the values and practices that are rooted in the education discourses of the dominant majority (McArdle & Coutts, 2010).

8.5 Contribution to knowledge

According to my own experience as a Modern Language learner and from the findings presented above, several recommendations can be offered:

8.5.1 Early years may have advantages in Modern Languages learning in terms of pronunciation

We have recognised in this study that there is previous research on the *Critical Period Hypothesis* to advocate the promotion of Modern Languages proficiency and pronunciation (Silverberg & Samuel, 2004; Sundara & Polka, 2008; Dufour et al., 2014; Samuel & Larraza, 2015). The finding of this study indicates to us that, in the observed classroom, younger children did show an ability to acquire better pronunciation. Even when the teacher's own pronunciation was inaccurate when teaching Modern Languages vocabulary, the children still used the standard pronunciation once they heard the words from the sound files. The findings also suggest that children's pronunciation is more natural and accurate than that of their class teachers.

Moreover, children in the observed classroom in both research locations exhibited less inhibition in learning languages, and they were less fearful of making mistakes in both research sites. While as we have discussed in section 6.2, older Modern Languages starters, e.g. Age 12 above, are in the process of developing self-identity and often do not see their mistakes as a learning process, but rather as a threat to their reputation and dignity, or as a source of negative evaluation from the teacher or their peers (Printer, 2017). In this regard, the Educational Policy makers can use this advantage of early years. This is especially needed in the China culture, which is often preoccupied with losing face—being embarrassed—in public (Faure & Fang, 2008). Making language mistakes is often strongly associated with such loss of face. This may engender feelings of embarrassment or insecurity. This contributes to an explanation of the previously described *Mute English* phenomenon amongst Chinese language learners.

8.5.2 Modern Languages learning would benefit from a qualification requirement for teachers

One of another most significant keys to the successful implementation of Modern Languages in primary schools is the need to guarantee the involvement of highly competent Modern Languages teachers. A certain level of competence in Modern Languages is necessary if primary school teachers are to have both the competence and the confidence to teach the language. This does not

mean languages teachers need to know everything about the language, but teachers should have enough language knowledge to be able to support language learners to the level of competence expected in the primary context. They also need to be able to offer guidance as to where children can go to look for accurate information. If teachers lack language competence they risk the quality of the learning in the classroom and children will end up with very diverse Modern Languages experiences, e.g., risking early years imitating the habits of teachers whose own Modern Language is not adequate. Moreover, lacking Modern Languages competence might also undermine teachers' professionalism in assessing children's performance if teachers themselves are still early Modern Languages learners and are in fact not fully competent in what they are asked to teach. Qualifications offer a means by which learning experiences can be matched to a standard. Qualifications also provide an opportunity for a teacher's learning to have status. In this sense, continuing Modern Languages training in addition to a requirement for primary school teachers to have an agreed level of qualification would seem to be key factors in promoting future success in Modern Languages learning in primary schools.

8.5.3 Modern Languages education would be improved if research evidence were to be built into the policy making and the policy implementation processes

It might seem a reasonable assumption that any reasonable government would want to ensure that policy was well informed, building research evidence into both policy making and implementation processes. The findings of this study indicate to us that the contact between the research community and government officials is insufficient. For example, none of the policy makers or practitioners in either of the research sites in this study was aware of evidence about how the impact of the starting age for Modern Languages learning. Lacking knowledge in this area could cause problem such as unrealistic expectation of children's learning outcomes. Tierney (2018, p. 469) argues that if insufficient attention is paid to research evidence in Modern Languages, policy would be in 'grave danger of the mistakes of the past being repeated'.

8.5.4 Modern Languages education would be improved by enhancing communication between policy makers and practitioners

Despite the distinctive differences between Scottish and Shanghai's educational systems, the findings of this study indicate that the communication between participant policy makers and participant practitioners is not sufficient in either context. For Shanghai, participant teachers mostly are policy end-users situated at the bottom of a hierarchical education system – passively receiving and complying with policy requirements. This could create problems, such as undermining teacher engagement and morale, disrupting a focus on children's needs and replacing that with a focus only on governmental and school requirements. The finding of this study indicate to us that Shanghai participant teachers perceive themselves more as compliant staff than active researchers who would develop pedagogy and implement innovations in relation to student outcomes. It was dispiriting to note that teachers interviewed were not wary of attacks on their professional values, nor did they appear to deplore the de-professionalization and the de-skilling of their professional roles, even when they compared themselves as nails rather than experienced professional educators. In this regard, a clear recommendation emerging from this study is that policy implementation should not be a hierarchical one-way process. Enhancing communication between teachers and policy makers is critical to meaningful policy implementation. In addition, participant teachers in Shanghai should be made aware of the importance of their role at the centre of curriculum and greater trust should be placed on their professionalism in teaching to meet children's needs, so they would see themselves as independent and confident teachers rather than compliant technicians. This process should be supported by appropriate professional learning, where opportunities to build confidence and competence in these new professional roles can be developed. The commitment of Chinese teachers to working collaboratively is a good basis on which to build alternative approaches to professional development.

In Scotland, the teacher who were involved in this study were all independent policy implementers. They interpreted and implemented the *1+2 Approach* policy for themselves and taught to meet the needs of their pupils. This, of course, requires teachers' expertise and a long-term, sustainable support from government if *1+2 Approach* is to become and to remain successful in the curriculum. However, with respect to this study, there is neither statutory time for Modern Languages in

primary schools nor benchmarks nor a programme of study or textbooks to provide support for teachers. It is not surprising, therefore, that participant Scottish teachers are concerned that this new policy might be just one more innovation as they do not see the policy intentions being supported by government action that would make the *1+2 Approach* sustainable in primary schools. In this sense, I recommend that the procedures for policymaking in Scotland need to be radically clarified, and the relationship between policy intentions and plans for policy enactment formalised and made more transparent between policy makers and teachers. Bearing the above recommendations in mind, the next section will suggest the future research based on the findings of this study.

8.6 Further research

There are several areas worthy of further investigation for both research sites. The findings emerging from this comparative educational policy study suggest that this is an approach that illuminates issues for both research sites. However, this study was confined to the Modern Languages subject in the primary schools. It would now be interesting to compare and contrast the differences (if any) between the policymakers and teachers from a broader range of subject areas. In addition to this, the findings of this study indicated to us that the Chinese Government, and Shanghai as a local authority in particular, has increasingly found ways to connect with the youth of China, who see English as a popular of a culture and access to the globalized world. Further policy studies might explore whether and how the Scottish Government might be able to do the same—to encourage young Scots to want to learn a Modern Language. This is a more challenging task in a country where young people have already had the language of popular culture but the idea of linking language learning with authentic youth culture and connecting young people from across cultures may have much to recommend it. In addition, it is worth conducting further studies on analysing which languages are really worth learning for young Scots as important languages for their future life, with reference to economical, geopolitical, cultural and educational factors. This may be a critical issue to address at this point when the implications of Brexit (the UK vote to leave the EU) are so difficult to predict.

For Modern Languages, as an area of study, it would be important to conduct further analyses of the Modern Languages curriculum and pedagogy to deepen our understanding of what are the best ways to support Modern Languages classroom practices. In line with this, as in this study, Scottish Case Study primary schools have led the way to involve Conversational Assistants (CAs) in classrooms. Previous research (Hoffman & Dahlman, 2007; Stoessel & Miles, 2008) indicated three recognised roles that CAs can bring into classrooms. These are described as the CA as a cultural source, to offer spontaneity for practice in the target language environment and to support the teachers' own continuing Modern Languages' development. In the field work for this study. I found that the presence of CAs in Scottish primary schools embraced all three of these virtues. Their conversational contributions in classrooms not only enriched children's learning experiences and appeared to improve the outcomes in terms of linguistic competence and multi-cultural awareness, but also in ways that I had not anticipated, offered opportunities to improve the class teachers' languages skills in terms pronunciation, structures of the target language and their cultural understanding. In this regard, CAs can be a worthwhile investment in classrooms in primary schools to improve children's experience of Modern Languages learning and develop teachers' teaching by offering at-hand resource.

Nonetheless, it noteworthy that, in both Case Study schools, CAs start their contribution in classrooms only a few weeks after they had arrived to Scotland. This short time for adaptation for the CAs may introduce a risk that they may not have sufficient understanding of the local context, in particular with indigenous school teachers' groups and communities. In this regard, I consider evaluation of the presence of CAs in Modern Languages classrooms an area worthy of further exploration.

Moreover, the involvement of parents in this study, seeking their views about parental encouragement and social acceptance for learning Modern Languages and by directly asking parents about the social acceptance/resistance of learning and speaking a Modern Language, provided fascinating insights. Further studies of parental views would be helpful in encouraging better understand of how the child's wider social context may or may not influence children's Modern Languages learning.

From a linguistic perspective, further studies could helpfully be conducted in the area of language diversity. According to this study, the expansion of the English Language by the Shanghai Ministry of Education, to become English Language as the only compulsory language (this maybe the case in many other non-English speaking countries) raises a concern about the potential threat to Mandarin becoming overwhelmed by English. In this regard, I consider the exploration of the impact of early years English Language study to Mandarin study is worthy of a further in-depth exploration. The next section will discuss the limitations of this study.

8.7 Limitations of this study

There are a number of limitations to this study that should be identified and acknowledged. This thesis is a small-scale study that is contextually limited to the participants of two general state-funded Case Study primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai. A common criticism of the Case Study approach is that it provides very little basis for other contexts since it involves a small number of subjects (Creswell, 2014). In this regard, there is no suggestion that the findings of this study can be directly related to the Modern Languages implementation situation in private-funded schools and may not be applicable to the whole areas of the two research sites. The findings of this study are not generalizable to the implementation of Modern Languages in the whole regions of the two research sites or beyond. However, the insights from the findings of this study contribute towards a more informed consideration of implications for the Modern Languages implementation process by considering the relationship between policy and teachers' perceptive of the practice of English language learning and teaching set in the context of the language policy in the country.

Likewise, the case study investigator is sometimes criticised as allowing equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions (Yin, 2003). In this study, the observation data emerging from this study is limited. The analysis of the observed classrooms is based on my analysis of evidence emerging from classroom observation of teachers' lessons. Therefore, the observed data of this study may not be completely authentic as, despite my best efforts, the teachers observed are in an artificial environment so they may have responded differently than they normally would.

Moreover, I am also aware of that all participant policy makers in this study shared their own opinions and did not speak on behalf of their governments. Therefore, the views they contributed to this study may not represent accurately the intentions of the governments. In this same vein, for the interview data with the practitioners, the data will also include their own biases, e.g., a Modern Language specialist may have a stronger inclination to stress the importance of having specialists teach Modern Languages. These biases may have influenced my conclusions to this inquiry.

In addition, as discussed in the Chapter Four (section 4.4), the case study research method is an investigation of a contemporary phenomenon. Modern Languages education is in action in the Scottish and Shanghai primary schools' curriculum when I was collecting the data in schools of the two research sites. However, I am fully aware that participants' views might change with time. The inquiry of this study hence demonstrated only the period that I visited the schools when the Modern Languages was being implemented in schools.

8.8 Personal Reflections

This section will conclude this research and summarise my final thoughts. The conduct of this study has radically enriched my understanding of Modern Languages implementation in primary schools in Scotland and Shanghai. My original superficial knowledge has been deepened, in terms of 1) the rationales for the early development of Modern Languages of the Scottish and Shanghai government; 2) the issues and constraints of enacting Modern Languages implementation in both research sites; and 3) the relationship between educational policy and practice in both research locations. In addition to this, the experience of interacting with the policy makers and practitioners on Modern Languages issues gave me further insights into the different agendas in different layers of policy communities. My initial shallow assumptions about the policy implementation processes are also undermined. I now have some understanding of the complex and fluctuating nature of policy making and of the implementation process. I recognise the variety of factors that could influence the success of policy implementation. Concomitantly, in conducting this research, I have also learned how to use qualitative research methods in action to investigate Modern Languages implementation with policy makers and practitioners in case study schools; how to use evidence to illustrate problems and to use evidence as the basis for suggested changes in Modern

Languages implementation. In this process, I not only created and clarified meaning by attempting to reconcile different perspectives, but also synthesised evidence to allow possible new outcomes to emerge from these interactions.

Last but not least, I also learned that conducting educational research is a complicated process involves identifying the problem, reviewing prior studies, recognising the purpose of the research, and considering the implications of the data. I also learned that PhD research is an independent journey which needs me to push beyond my own comfortable boundaries and beyond what is currently known, to construct original insights into conventionally intransigent problems. This is very different from my original assumptions at the beginning of my PhD journey. I presumed that a PhD was a longer version of my Masters programme. After four years' battles with moments of excitement and fear, confidence and inferiority, brightness and darkness, clarity and confusion, I now realise that research is never a straightforward linear process. There are always days moving forwards and moving backwards. I am well-aware of the necessity to be humble enough to accept the slow nature of growing, as it is care and rigour that brings about real understanding; and it is the tension and discipline of staying with different arguments and conflicts that fertilise the emergence of new syntheses.

Appendices

Appendix 1



University
of Glasgow

College of Social
Sciences

Participant Information Sheet – Teachers

Exploring teachers’ belief and practices on curriculum policy implementation: Case studies on Modern language education in Scotland and Shanghai

Ziyou Wang - z.wang.3@research.gla.ac.uk (PhD student researcher)

Professor Louise Hayward - Louise.Hayward@glasgow.ac.uk (Principal supervisor)

Professor Robert Davis - Robert.Davis@glasgow.ac.uk (Second supervisor)

You are being invited to take part in this PhD research project. Before deciding to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

This study intends to explore how modern language policy implementation is reflected in practice by investigating teachers’ beliefs. It aims to offer helpful information and advice to teacher educators and curriculum developers by comparing policy expectations and teachers’ experiences and/or practices. The study will explore how teachers respond to policy initiatives by comparing teachers’ experiences and/or practices in two very different cultures, Glasgow, Scotland and Shanghai, China.

2. Why have I been chosen?

We are inviting you to take part in this research because you are a modern languages teacher with more two years teaching experience.

3. Do I have to take part?

Please note that participation is completely voluntary. Even after deciding to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. This includes withdrawing any data previously supplied.

4. What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part I will interview you about the relationship between what you are asked to do in modern languages policy and your own classroom practice. This will take about 30 minutes. I will also observe one of your modern language lessons for 30 minutes, subject to your permission to do so. I will also take notes during the class to help me learn more about how you teach the language. Both the interview and the observation will be audio taped and transcribed so that I can listen very carefully to what you have said. The interview transcripts and observation narrative will be returned to you for verification.

5. Will the information that I give you in this study be kept confidential (private)?

All information obtained from you as research participant during the course of the research will be carefully safeguarded. Your name and the school name will be replaced by a code, which I retain the key, in a locked cabinet of my private place. I will also keep the interview and observation notes in a locked cabinet, and store the electronic voice data in my laptop which require password to log in. All research data will be deposited in secure repository for ten years in accordance to the University Code of Good Practice.

When I write about what I have found, your name will not be mentioned. I will use a pseudonym when referring to you in any publication arising from this research.

Be aware that your confidentiality maybe impossible to guaranteed because the size of this study sample is small.

6. What will happen to the results of this study?

The results of this study will be part of a PhD research project, which will be submitted to the University of Glasgow by September 2017. You are able to request a copy of any of the reports arising from this research, should you so wish. The thesis will be available in the library of the University of Glasgow. Research findings may also be presented at postgraduate research seminars and conferences and published in academic journals.

7. Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the College of Social Science Ethics Committee, University of Glasgow

8. Who can I contact for further Information?

If you have any queries, please contact me, Ms Ziyu Wang - z.wang.3@research.gla.ac.uk. Additionally, should you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research, you may email the College of Social Sciences Ethics officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk.

Appendix 2



College of Social
Sciences

Participant Information Sheet – Policy makers

Exploring teachers' belief and practices on curriculum policy implementation: Case studies on Modern language education in Scotland and Shanghai

Ziyou Wang - z.wang.3@research.gla.ac.uk (PhD student researcher)

Professor Louise Hayward - Louise.Hayward@glasgow.ac.uk (Principal supervisor)

Professor Robert Davis - Robert.Davis@glasgow.ac.uk (Second supervisor)

You are being invited to take part in this PhD research project. Before deciding to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

This study intends to explore how modern language policy implementation is reflected in practice by investigating teachers' beliefs. It aims to offer helpful information and advice to teacher educators and curriculum developers by comparing policy expectations and teachers' experiences and/or practices. The study will explore how teachers respond to policy initiatives by comparing teachers' experiences and/or practices in two very different cultures, Glasgow, Scotland and Shanghai, China.

2. Why have I been chosen?

We are inviting you to take part in this research because you are a former or present policy maker who engaged in the current modern language policy design.

3. Do I have to take part?

Please note that participation is completely voluntary. Even after deciding to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. This includes withdrawing any data previously supplied.

4. What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part I will interview you about the consideration and expectation when you took part in the current modern language policy design. This will take about 30 minutes. The interview will be audio taped and transcribed so that I can listen very carefully to what you have said. The interview transcript will be returned to you for verification.

5. Will the information that I give you in this study be kept confidential (private)?

All information obtained from you as research participant during the course of the research will be carefully safeguarded. Your name will be replaced by a code, which I retain the key, in a locked cabinet in my private place. I will also keep the interview notes in a locked cabinet, and store the electronic voice data in my laptop which require password to log in. All research data will be deposited in secure repository for ten years in accordance to the University Code of Good Practice.

When I write about what I have found, your name will not be mentioned. I will use a pseudonym when referring to you in any publication arising from this research.

Be aware that your confidentiality maybe impossible to guaranteed because the size of this study sample is small.

6. What will happen to the results of this study?

The results of this study will be part of a PhD research project, which will be submitted to the University of Glasgow by September 2017. You are able to request a copy of any of the reports arising from this research, should you so wish. The thesis will be available in the library of the University of Glasgow. Research findings may also be presented at postgraduate research seminars and conferences and published in academic journals.

7. Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the College of Social Science Ethics Committee, University of Glasgow

8. Who can I contact for further Information?

If you have any queries, please contact me, Ms Ziyu Wang - z.wang.3@research.gla.ac.uk. Additionally, should you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research, you may email the College of Social Sciences Ethics officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk.

Appendix 3



College of Social
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Consent Form - Teacher

Title of Project:

Exploring teachers' belief and practices on curriculum policy implementation: case studies on Modern language education in Scotland and Shanghai

Name of Researcher:

Ziyu Wang

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant information for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. In addition, I give consent regarding: *(Please tick all that apply.)*

- ☐ interviews being audio-taped
- ☐ observation being audio-taped
- ☐ interview transcripts to be returned to me for verification
- ☐ observation narrative to be returned to me for verification

- ☐ being referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research
- ☐ all research data are anonymised and deposited in secure repository for 10 years in accordance to the University Code of Good Practice in Research - <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/postgraduateresearch/pgrcodeofpractice/>
- ☐ research findings may also be presented at postgraduate seminars, and conferences and published in academic journals.

4. I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix 4



College of Social
Sciences

Consent Form – Policy maker

Title of Project:

Exploring teachers' belief and practices on curriculum policy implementation: case studies on Modern language education in Scotland and Shanghai

Name of Researcher:

Ziyou Wang

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Participant information for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. In addition, I give consent regarding: *(Please tick all that apply.)*

- ☐ interviews being audio-taped
- ☐ interview transcripts to be returned to me for verification
- ☐ being referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research
- ☐ all research data are anonymised and deposited in secure repository for 10 years in accordance to the University Code of Good Practice in Research - <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/postgraduateresearch/pgrcodeofpractice/>

☐ research findings may also be presented at postgraduate seminars, and conferences and published in academic journals.

4. I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix 5

An interview questions protocol

Interview with teachers

Purpose:

To explore teachers' understanding of national policy towards Modern language teaching pedagogy and the obstacles they encountered when embedding the policies into teaching practice.

The interviewer will ask the following questions:

- Could you describe your position in school?
- ☐ What subjects do you teach?
- ☐ How many children are in your class?
- ☐ How many lesson do you delivery per week?

General question

To what extend does the new curriculum affect your teaching?

What is your purpose to teaching foreign language to early years?

Globalisation

- How do you understand the phenomenon of globalisation? What influence does this phenomenon bring to your teaching?
-
- What drives do you believe that make government highly promote English language education, not other languages?

Teacher professional learning

- To what extent are you confident to delivery lesson within the new curriculum framework? And how?
- I noticed that the policy make reference of the importance of promoting the “sustainable foreign language education”. To what extent do you believe its feasibility?

- Have you receive any supports to help you to get along well with the new curriculum implementation?

☐ If yes, in what way?

☐ If no, what supports do you think you need and what stops you to obtain ?

Starting age

- What age do you think is the best starting time to access foreign language learning, and why?

- To what degree do you agree with opinion “the earlier the better” for foreign language learning?

Teacher pedagogy

- What method/methods do you think is/are more effective to delivery new language knowledge to children?

- I noticed that the policy encourage teachers to use a less strict way to conduct teaching. What do you think of that?

- How often do you use entertaining activities in daily teaching? How does it work?

Assessment

- What standards do you account for to assess children’s achievements? To what extent do you believe these standards are fair to assess children’s learning feedback?

- How often do you check children’s learning feedback? And in what way

Culture and value

- How important do you think the role of culture place foreign language teaching?

- What context culture are you in when teaching foreign language? Would that be the target language culture or home culture or both? Why?

- What standards of English do you rely on to teach, British English? American English? Or English as a Lingua Franca? And why?

Interviews with the policy maker

Purpose:

To explore their consideration when formulating the policy or programs. In the aspect of Globalisation, pedagogy assessment, Teachers' professional learning, early years, culture and value,

The interviewer will ask the following questions:

General question

- What is the goal of your government to conduct this new foreign language curriculum?
g.

Globalisation

- I noticed that both in the *English Curriculum Standards at Compulsory Education Stage (2011)* and *Shanghai English Curriculum Standards at Compulsory Education Stage (2004)*, the term “Globalisation” had been mentioned and been describe as the drive of the reform.
 - What does the “Globalisation” really brings to shanghai? Economy boost or multi-culture phenomenon?
 - To what extent does the policy designing influenced by the trend of globalisation?
 - I noted that the policy documents make the reference of the importance of the “improve international competitive and promote international communication”. Would provide more detail about this? Is this the only driver for encouraging the foreign language education? Or are there any other drivers?
 - In the policy document, English language is placed No. one must learn foreign language, why English?

Teacher professional learning

- What approaches have been adopted to be encouraged teachers to implement the new curriculum?
- What population of the teachers in Shanghai are ready to implement the new curriculum?
Or have attended in-service training for new curriculum?

Early years

- I noted that Shanghai English Curriculum Standards at Compulsory Education Stage (2004) stated that ‘According to research, children under10 years old learn second

language by instinct as learn their mother language'. To what extend has this opinion been taken into consideration when decide the starting second language learning age of children?

Teacher pedagogy

- The new educational policy promotes students-oriented teaching. For example, it highly recommends teachers to engage children learning through various classroom activities.
 - Can you explain why this pedagogies? Is there any other pedagogy recommended?
- I noticed that the policy encourage teachers to use a less strict way to conduct teaching which different to Chinese traditional educational value that “strict makes perfect”.
 - Why encourage this approach?
 - There is a concern that less strict may spoil children. In what way do your government design the policy to avoid this possibility of spoiling children?

Assessment

- The policy demonstrates the assessment should be consisted of daily performance and final test performance, and for the early years (P1-P2), only oral test will be adopted.
 - Why this design?
 - To what extend your government believe this is fair to assess children' learning?

Culture and value

- Will your government take particular cultures or values in to consideration when designing the foreign language policy? What are they?
- Some Chinese scholars mentioned the worry of too much western value invade with English language learning. To what extend does your government take this concern in to consideration when design policy?
- I noticed that there is no specific description of what type of English are going to be taught, whether it would be American English or British English or English as lingua franca, what type of English do your government want or not want to encourage to teach and why or why not?

Vision

- What is the vision of your government toward foreign language education in 5 or 10 years?

Appendix 6

Drives for Modern Language Education

For Children's long-term benefit

.....you really got to open your mind and look cross the boards. ... it is difficult to young people to be motivated to think: oh, yes, I am in 10-years-time might need this, or I am in 15-year-time I am going to speak German. Because they may think, just now, I am a little boy or little girl learn German and I will never go to Germany... We have a lot push in our curriculum into for global citizenship as well. children who are learning from at the early years of school, which is to living in Scotland to be Scottish but also look outside. but we are becoming a more diversity nation as well. So we know that our people are not just Scottish people in your class.

....to make sure that our young people were able to stand shoulder to shoulder with young people in Europe.

-----Policy person in Scotland

For individual child, learning Second Language is benefit for their overall development. They are like sponges; they absorb everything you give to them. The more knowledge they are exposed to since young, the more benefits they will likely to have

-----Policy person from Shanghai

we never know which children has talent in which subject, and we never know what kind of life a children will have. What we know is it is always good to provide them more opportunities to access knowledges and to broaden their views and open their minds. Languages is always the ladder to lead children to reach these purposes. They can have ideas about other cultures and varieties of the world through languages learning.

for the education part, we expect more Chinese young people to go to developed countries, such as the UK, the USA, to learn either advanced ideologies or latest technologies from them and come back to serve China. You cannot expect them to speak your languages while learn from them. You should be the one who learn their language first.

-----Policy person from central China

For the outward looking purpose as a nation – economy and diplomacy

on the business reasons are aside, just our lack of being able to look across the border, look across the Europe, being global citizens are not up on our minds to other cultures, was becoming quite stuck the fact we want to providing that. it would be terrible for us as a nation. It is ridiculers as we are not outwards looking as a Scottish nation.

you know there are huge tourist industries in Scotland, most are from Germany. And we discovered that we have very few people who work in the tourist industries who again have got those even just small amount of language skills, like to be able to welcome people, to deal with the problem, to be able to listen and understand and phone call. So we were missing out also probably on revenue from tourism.

h. Related to some of the statistics from UK's CBI (Confederation of British Industry) standards form, where we discovered that the UK as a nation, we were losing 48 million pounds trade a year.

open up those minds to different cultures, different languages....

-----Policy person in Scotland

The political will

Scotland

SNP decided ambitious in our policy

I think really the driver was close the Party, was from SNP. It was agreed by many political parties that our young people are not able to participate fully in the global market because they are lack of language skills. On the business reasons are aside, just our lack of being able to look across the border, look across the Europe, being global citizens are not up on our minds to other cultures, was becoming quite stuck the fact we want to providing that. So, it was indeed the SNP Minister, because they were the administration that in charge at the time, who decided that we need to be very ambitious in our policy.

-----Policy person in Scotland

Shanghai

Consistent with Chinese Open up policy

For the nation, there is needs to play a role at international stages. Make people around the world to understand China and Chinese. We need to speak the language they understand first, which is English.

-----Policy person from Shanghai

China as a nation that quite keen to sustain connection with other countries...in the area like culture, economy and politics....for example, there are lots of multinational corporations in China, and we have many business in other countries, to keep these communication with other countries continues, we need to education our young people languages, so that we can have adequate language elites 10 years later.

-----Policy person from central China

Scotland

Over population of Modern Language teacher

On the practical level, we were also looking at the overpopulation of teachers as well. We have too many Modern languages teachers. I mean language specialist in the Secondary schools. There wouldn't be too many of them with half-timetables. Which would be mopped up by the Secondary schools, cos they can do all the absent teacher cover time. But not mean that is good for their career. They were meant to teach languages.

I do not have the statistics about the teachers, but I know from GTC (General Teaching Council) that we look at the forward planning for the workforce. There was about of the question.

-----Policy person in Scotland

Learn how to learn a language

also the same time learning how to learn a language. You know they learning all the little bits of the language, and of course we know that once you have learned your first foreign language, that is difficult. But the subsequent language, like second one and third, are easier. And also we got this huge impact on English on literacy skills as well. Learning second or third language can impact really positive on your English skills.

-----Policy person in Scotland

Shanghai

Second Languages education is traditionally a part of the whole package of Education

Second Language is traditionally a subject since my father's generation. It has benefits I don't think anyone would have question on.... whether we should have Second Language education or not, you know it is part of the whole package of education.

-----P1

...second Language learning is never a 'brand new' theme in Chinese Education. We have long time tradition to learn second languages...

-----P2

Appendix 7

Reflection on the early age Second Language				
Scotland	Policy person		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Linguist suggests Children can manage different languages and they have advantages in pronunciation Children are lack of inhabitation 	
	Teachers	Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children can manage different languages and they have advantages in pronunciation. Children are lack of inhabitation Building up children' interesting on language learning. 	
		Worries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dangerous of Language teaching in a wrong way 	
Shanghai	Policy person	From Shanghai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No intention on earlier the better. Start from P1 is because we pilot it in schools and find children can manage. 	
		From Beijing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We just recommend follow children's zone of development. Personally, children can manage different languages and they have advantages in pronunciation. 	
	Teachers	positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children can manage different languages and they have advantages in pronunciation. Children are lack of inhabitation 	
	Others		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> L1 can support L2 learning 	

Teaching management and supports in Scotland and Shanghai			
Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Varieties of in-service training courses and online resources for language teachers' professional development Fund Language is not main subject in curriculum 		
Differences	Language teacher Qualification	Scotland	Teacher qualification with / or without language
		Shanghai	Teacher qualification with language
	Language Teaching time	Scotland	30-60 minutes a week
		Shanghai	455 – 525 minutes per week
	Language teachers' subjects	Scotland	Class teacher: 8 subjects Language specialist: 1 subjects--- the language
		Shanghai	1 subject – the language
	Other ways to develop pedagogies or language	Scotland	Free summer school in target language countries
		Shanghai	Public Model Lesson and teachers observe lessons of each other
		Scotland	Optional but must take at some point

	The type of training course	Shanghai		Compulsory courses and optional courses
	Ensure to meet the requirement	Scotland	Teacher	Sustainable language study from Primary to Secondary
			Policy person	make sure every teacher gets trained and to teach the good pedagogy and fluency their language
		Shanghai	Teachers	Frequent meeting among language teachers within schools and among language coordinators and conveners in District
			Policy person	Regular contact with language coordinators of schools in District

Reasons of choosing particular Language in Primary Schools	
Scotland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The resources of the school • The continuity of the language in secondary school • Endless circle of one Language
Shanghai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The popularity of the language (English Language proficiency is a ‘passport’ in many area of life) • Geography oriented • Historical influence

Appendix 8

Me: Your government encourage children learn modern language from very young age. But you don't want most of them to use the language in the future like use the language to hold a conference. Do you? They still can use English as English is a dominant language.

P3: *No, they don't use the language. People who can use foreign language to hold the conference would be foreign language graduates. And a few of our between. It is difficult, the motivation is not as high as, if you were dealing with children let's say in Spain who are learning English. Because English is a very attractive language. It is language of music. It is a language of film. It got domination place in the world because of Austria, because of America and Canada, South Africa. So sometime it is difficult to get into the Scottish psyche and to say to young people, you really got to open your mind and look cross the boards. Because it is difficult to young people to be motivated to think: oh, yes, I am in 10-years-time might need this, or I am in 15-year-time I am going to speak German. Because they may think, just now, I am a little boy or little girl learn German and I will never go to Germany.*

So what we to do to motivate is we bring in as much as we can in curriculum to do with culture, to learn about the difference of the cultures. We also encourage, but cannot force, but encourage language departments to go on trips, to take children to like German Christmas markets in Germany, to take them to go to France, to take children to the countries where language spoken to let children see how well they are doing, and also to let them to practice the languages etc. But sometimes we cannot over afford that, so we would want to bring in. You want to bring in motivational young people that are attractive to the teenagers, so you have foreign language assistances. And we have a lot more IT, so we can do a lot more Skyping and emailing and having these connections. And I think as soon as the young people have connection with other young people across the world, they will have opened eyes, they will know the world have different standards and know what the globalisation is.

Appendix 9

Me: *would your government has intention to make 1+2 compulsory?*

P3: *We don't choose the 'C' words, haha, that too over than local authorities. But it has to become part of parcel of the teachers' CLPL at some point. They have to focus on ML learning...at some point. You know they got loads other priorities absolutely. But possibly for something there, like the gap of their skills, that is the thing they have to fill if they are going to go on enable to keep continue.*

*We hope they can understand that this is part of parcel of what you are going to do. You know to be a classroom teacher in Primary school, you have to be able to teach the Modern Language. And there are two prompt things are the ability to teach the pedagogy force a good language lesson look like. And a sequences Language lessons, and **what a good sequence language lesson looks like** because that would not be part of your training; and also the other prompt is your **fluency of Modern Languages**. This makes teachers do not feeling comfortable about speaking a Foreign Language. They don't know what is the next word they want to say. And I can absolutely feel for them. I do. Because I would hate all the thing back to me trying to teach Spanish after only having had done a course higher Spanish years, like the first year of my university, and then trying to take Spanish, not teach Spanish classes, but just covering it for a colleague and trying to speak Spanish with the classes was not as fluency as a French or German. So you know what a frustration.*

Appendix 10

上海市教育委员会 上海市新闻出版局 文件

沪教委基〔2005〕37号

上海市教育委员会、上海市新闻出版局 关于做好 2005 年秋季小学教学用书 征订工作的通知

各区县教育局、浦东新区社会发展局，有关局、公司教育处，上海新华书店，各区县新华书店：

根据市教委颁发的《2005 年秋季上海市中小学教学用书目录》，请你们做好 2005 年秋季小学教学用书征订工作，现将预订单附后，并委托上海新华书店负责征订工作。为确保 2005 年秋季教学用书在课前到位，各校、各新华书店要指派专人负责征订发行工作，认真总结以往征订、发行工作中的经验，不断改进工作，务必把这次预订工作抓紧做好。要认真核实各年级学生人数，做到一次订准订足。现将有关事项通知如下：

一、本通知所附订单是一份 2005 年秋季上海市小学教学用书预订单。这份预订单所列教学用书是根据本市小学课程计划确定的，除这份预订单和市教委有正式文件通知的预订单以外，其他单位和部门所发的其他各种书刊订单所列书刊均属课外读物，应由学生或家长自愿选购，任何学校和个人都不得要求或组织学生购买。从 1999 年秋季起，凡经上海市中小学教材审查委员会审查通过、准许在中小学使用的教材（含原上海市教材编审委员会对一期课改教材审查通过的教材），已在教材封底刊印“经上海市中小学教材审查委员会审查准予试验用（经全国中小学教材审查委员会审定准予使用），准用号（一期课改教材标准用号为 I ……，二期课改教材标准用号为 II ……）”字样，并列入每年春秋两季市教委编发的上海市中小学教学用书目录。对于未经全国中小学教材审定委员会或上海市中小学教材审查委员会审查通过、未刊有准用号的书本资料，任何学校和个人一律不得作为教学用书，不得为学生代订代购。如有此类情况发生，将按原国家教委《中小学教材编写、审查和选用的规定》（教基〔1995〕2 号）第十七条“对违反规定的责任者分别进行批评教育、责令限期改正、通报批评、罚款，直至追究行政责任，给予行政处分”的规定处理。各级新华书店应严格遵守上述有关规定。

二、除现行的经审查准用的教材外，上海中小学课程教材改革委员会又组织编写了部分学科的新编试验本教材，供部分学校试验用。试验学校由市和区县教育行政部门共同商定后选订新编试验教材。部分注明“待审”的试验教材和教学用书如审查未通过，则仍用现行教材，按学校预订数供应。

三、根据《上海市教育委员会、上海市物价局、上海市财政局关于上海市义务教育阶段实施“一费制”收费办法的意见》（沪教委财〔2004〕60 号）的要求，各小学为学生订购的教材费用不得突破“一费制”中规定的收费标准（如有突破，则突破部分由学校由公用经费中列支）。

四、由于教材预订品种多，容易搞错，各校在预订时一定要仔细地逐行看清“书

名”、“版别”、“单价”、“备注”等各栏的说明，根据需要确定订数。新华书店要认真核对订数，努力搞好汇总和发行工作。

五、本市小学一年级英语教材由学校根据各学校的实际情况从英语（牛津上海版）和英语（新世纪版）两套教材中任选一套；三年级英语教材由学校根据实际情况，从英语（牛津上海版）、英语（新世纪版）、英语（上教版）三套教材中任选一套，三年级选择的版本可与一、二年级不同。为此，各区县教育行政和教研部门要根据《上海市教育委员会关于印发〈2005年秋季上海市中小学教学用书目录〉的通知》中有关教材选用的要求，加强对教材使用的指导，切实做好教材的选用工作。

六、为解决个别学生因特殊原因需购书问题，将继续采取以下3条措施：

（一）转学学生的用书一律由原校预订并供应，原校要按预订书目代购并发给转学学生。

（二）区县新华书店应有适量的备货，在本区县内调剂余缺。

（三）市新华书店在各区县设课本零售点（共19个，见附件1）。

七、预订日期：自即日起至5月15日截止。请各校将订单填妥后按时报当地新华书店。逾期或临时补订不能保证供应。

附件：1. 上海市小学课本零售点（19个）

2. 2005年秋季小学教学用书预订单

上海市教育委员会

上海市新闻出版局

二〇〇五年四月二十九日

主题词：教育 小学 用书 征订 通知

抄送：各小学，各区县教师进修院校。

(共印 4000 份)

附件 1:

上海市小学课本零售点 (19 个)

店 名	地 址	电 话
卢湾区新华书店课本门市部	鲁班路 359 号	63016472
徐汇区新华书店课本发行组	中山南二路 800 号	64162792
普陀区新华书店课本发行组	延长西路 430 号	56616651
长宁区新华书店课本发行组	玉屏南路 3 号	62739008
静安区新华书店课本发行组	海防路 338 弄 1 号	62770464
闸北区新华书店课本发行组	共和新路 710 弄 1 号	56629435
虹口区新华书店课本门市部	塘沽路 623 号	63245234
杨浦区新华书店课本发行组	平凉路 1467 号	65430575
宝山区新华书店教育书店	同泰北路 15 号	56174710
闵行区新华书店课本发行组	莘建路 211 号	64923802
嘉定区新华书店课本发行组	清河路 54 号	59527699
松江区新华书店课本发行组	中山中路 216 号	57811918
金山区新华书店教材门市部	石化卫清路 734 号	57965565
青浦区新华书店课本发行组	胜利路盈秀路内	69221034
南汇区新华书店课本门市部	惠南镇荡湾路 8 号	58008448
奉贤区新华书店课本发行组	解放西路 315 号	57108415
崇明县新华书店课本门市部	中津桥路 55 号	69612480

Appendix 11

Modern Language Observation Form				
Date		Time of Start		
Context (grade):		Time of End		
No. of the teacher		No. of the Children		
Observer		Methods of recording		
Focus:	Progress of the lesson Teachers' talking time and children's talking time Activity time			
Notes		Quick Check		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How teacher introduce new knowledge to children? ● The ways to explain question or point out children's language error. ● Tools to support teaching. ● Culture orientation 		Number of activities		
		Type of activities	Singing	
			Pair work	
			Drills	
			Other:	
Times of checking understanding				

Prompt thinking or questions or evidence:

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